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CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATION

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§ 1. Basis of the Figures

244. Reference to Statistics—It is a relief to turn from the statistics of misfortune with which the last chapter was occupied to the gainful employments of the people. The return of occupations in the State census has such a variety and complication of data that some systematic classification of them is necessary as a preliminary to their tabulation. Four columns of the questionnaire were concerned with this return. Column 9 merely enquired whether a person was an earner, working dependent or non-working dependent. Column 10 was reserved for the earner, about whom the kind of his occupation was to be entered in detail. Column 11 had a two-fold purpose: in the case of an earner, the slip was to show his subsidiary occupation and in respect of a working dependent, it returned the form of his assistance to the earner in the family occupation. Column 12 was specially reserved for the industrial worker, but as later it was decided to dispense with the all-India Industrial Tables, the responses to this item were not separately compiled. Imperial Table X sets out the standard scheme of classification prescribed for all-India according to which the figures are tabulated. It gives the figures of earners and working dependents for each occupational group in each division and the City, showing on the top the distribution of non-working dependents in each administrative unit. Imperial Table XI gives the occupations of selected tribes and castes, for which purpose the same principle of selection and classification as that for Imperial Tables VIII (Age, Sex and Civil Condition) and XIII (Literacy) was adopted. Table XI has two parts—Part A showing the variety of occupations followed by each of the castes with particular reference to their traditional occupation and Part B indicating the strength of each caste amongst earners in selected grades of occupation. As the all-India general census dispensed with the necessity of compiling figures as to industrial workers from the responses to item 12 of the questionnaire, this State compiled special industrial statistics on more or less the same basis as in 1921 regarding factories employing power of some kind. The returns were got filled through the managers of factories by the Director of Commerce and Industries in co-operation with the Census department, and the results are compiled in two parts of State Table XIII. A special return of the educated unemployed was also taken along with the general census, and Imperial Table XII in two parts sets out the main results. As it was thought the results obtained were not indicative at all of the true volume of unemployment, additional statistics have been compiled, which, it is hoped, will be of assistance to the expert enquiry now ordered by the Government of His Highness to be made into this problem. These are contained in the two parts of State Table XIV—Part A giving the number of non-working dependents in certain selected castes in three age-groups and Part B correlating the literacy statistics of males with the broad occupational divisions into earner, working dependent and non-working dependent, and also showing their distribution in the different divisions in the adult age-groups. To digest this enormous mass of statistical material, the following subsidiary tables are attached to the end of this chapter :—

Subsidiary Table	I—A and B—	—	General distribution of Occupation for Earners (principal occupation) and Working Dependents, and Earners showing subsidiary occupation only.
,,	,,	II—A	— Distribution of Earners (principal occupation) and Working Dependents by Sub-classes and Natural divisions.

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CHAPTER VIII

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE	II—B	—	Distribution of Earners (Subsidiary occupation) by Sub-classes and Natural divisions.
,,	,, III	—	Occupations of Females by Sub-classes and Selected Orders and Groups.
,,	,, IV	—	Selected Occupations.
,,	,, V	—	Occupation of Selected Castes.

In addition, Subsidiary Table VI gives the results of the special sort for occupations of persons literate in English. Other tables are given—too numerous to mention—which help to throw light on the census figures.

245. Basis of the Figures: Changes in the Occupation Return—To understand these figures, it is necessary at the outset to have a clear idea of their basis. The occupation census of 1931 has certain distinctive features. In the first place, it introduced innovations in the schedule, as a result of which it is not now possible to institute useful comparisons with previous censuses. In the second place, a few changes were made in the classifications as laid down at the last census. The first kind of innovations was mainly in two directions. Formerly, the population supported by each occupation was required to be shown. On the present occasion, only workers (earners and working dependents) are now so distributed, and the distribution of dependents by each group of occupation is dispensed with. Secondly, the old two-fold division of the population into worker and dependent is now replaced by a new three-fold division—of earner, working dependent and non-working dependent. The old time "worker" does not now exactly correspond to the "earner," as the member of the family, who regularly (but not for all the time) assisted the earner in his business, would have been shown under the old classification as a "worker," and as a "working dependent" in 1931. The test of pay was accepted in the present census as the dividing principle between the two classes, where only part-time work was concerned. But where the work was full-time, the test of wage did not apply. The following extracts, from the Imperial Census Code (Chapter VII) which was adopted as a basis for our work, are of interest:—

"Only those women and children will be shown as earners who help to augment the family income by permanent and regular work for which a return is obtained in cash or kind. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not an earner but a dependent. But a woman who habitually collects and sells firewood or cow-dung is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as an earner. A woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (*e.g.*, the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots) is an all-time assistant, but not one who merely renders a little occasional help. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle, is a dependent, but one who is a regular cowherd and earns pay as such in cash or in kind should be recorded as such in column 10. It may be assumed, as a rough and ready rule that boys and girls over the age of 10 who actually do field labour or tend cattle are adding to the income of their family and should, therefore, be entered in column 10 or 11 according to whether they earn pay or not. Boys at school or college should be entered as dependents. Dependents who assist in the work of the family and contribute to its support without actually earning wages should be shown as dependents in column 9 and under subsidiary occupation in column 11."

246. Changes in Occupational Classification—Lastly, the changes in the occupational classification were mostly in the nature of amplification of the old groups and of compression of a few others. A few examples may be cited. Thus group 3 of 1921 is now sub-divided into groups 2, 3 and 4:—(*i*) Estate agents and managers of owners (group 2), (*ii*) Estate agents and managers of Government (group 3)—including officers of Agriculture, Land Records, Court of Wards and Settlement departments, and (*iii*) Rent collectors and clerks, etc. (group 4). Similarly, group 7 of 1921 (growers of special products and market gardening, etc.) is now expanded into groups 9-16 specifying cinchona, cocoanut, coffee, *ganja*, rubber, tea from others. On the other hand, old groups 26 and 27 have been combined into the new group 43 (cotton spinning, sizing and weaving); old groups 31-35 into new groups 46 and 47; old groups 52-54 into new 65; old 60-64 into new

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70; old 66-70 into new 81 ; old 85-89 into new 90 and so on. A few re-groupings have also happened.

"Thus persons employed in public entertainment appeared in group 101—Order 18 at last census but are classified now in group 183 in Order 49 ; saddle cloth makers have been transferred from leather work to embroidery and saddle cloth sellers in means of transport (1) to trade in textiles ; witches and wizards have been moved up from Sub-class XII, *Unproductive* to Sub-class VIII, *Profession and Liberal Arts* (group 181), where they are at least as suitably kennelled as astrologers and mediums ; ' Grasshopper sellers,' classified last time under ' trade of other sorts', will now appear under ' trade in foodstuffs.' "

As a result of these changes, groups of occupations have increased from 191 in 1921 to 195 in 1931. There are four main classes in the occupational scheme, and these four are further divided into 12 sub-classes, 55 orders and 195 groups. The classes and sub-classes are as follows :—

CLASS A : PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS

Sub-class I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.
" II. Exploitation of Minerals.

CLASS B : PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES

Sub-class III. Industry.
" IV. Transport.
" V. Trade.

CLASS C : PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS

Sub-class VI. Public Force.
" VII. Public Administration.
" VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts.

CLASS D : MISCELLANEOUS

Sub-class IX. Persons living on their income.
" X. Domestic service.
" XI. Insufficiently described occupations.
" XII. Unproductive.

§ 2. GENERAL RESULTS

247. General Results—Subsidiary Table I-A gives the general occupational distribution. The general population consists of 958,961 earners (39.3 per cent), 251,514 working dependents (10.3 per cent), and the remainder (50.4) 1,232, 532 non-working dependents. In 1921, the number of dependents of all kinds was 1,260,501 and the number of workers was 866,021. In 1931, the earners consisted of 711,565 males and 247,396 females—giving a proportion of 348 female per 1,000 male earners as against 396 (which in 1921 was the proportion of female workers). In the marginal table, as well as the inset diagram given below it, the total strength of

SUB-CLASS OF OCCUPATION	Strength of earners and working dependents	Proportion of earners and working dependents in each occupation per 1,000 in 1931	Proportion of persons supported in each occupation per 1,000 of population in 1921
I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation ..	855,913	707	664
II. Minerals	1,980	2	0·3
III. Industry	129,660	107	119
IV. Transport	15,863	13	13
V. Trade	67,065	55	66
VI. Public Force	14,021	12	11
VII. Public Administration ..	12,414	10	20
VIII. Professions	29,439	24	33
IX. Independent Means ..	5,905	5	5·4
X. Domestic Service ..	7,916	7	4·3
XI. Insufficiently described .	65,122	54	59
XII. Unproductive	5,177	4	5

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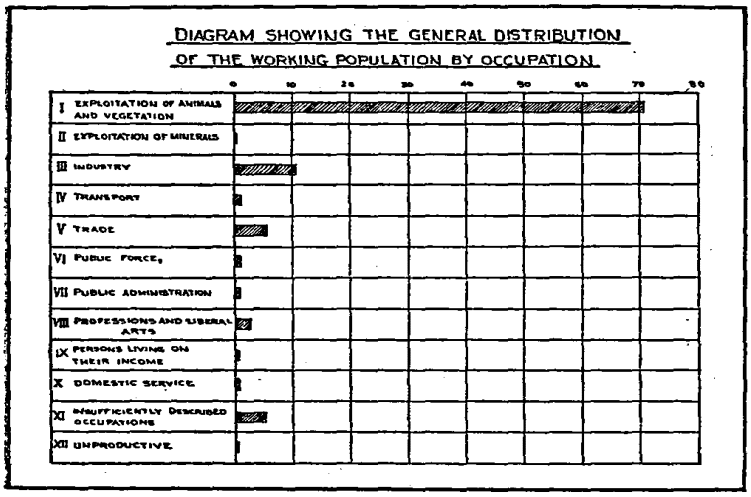
workers (earners as well as working dependents) in each of the 12 sub-classes of occupation in 1931 is shown, and comparative proportions per mille for the two censuses are given so far as comparison is possible. The 1931 proportions are worked out on the total of earners and working dependents taken together but the 1921 figures are the proportions in each grade of occupation of the total number of persons supported (workers and dependents taken together). In the present census, the distribution of dependents by occupation, as pointed out already, was not undertaken. That is why a strictly correct comparison is out of the question.



On the whole, however, it may be said that the proportions do not disclose any marked change in the occupational distribution. Sub-class I indeed shows a higher proportion, but it does not thereby betoken any increased interest in agriculture—the proportion becomes larger, merely because the calculation for 1931 reckons in the working dependents, who form a much larger factor in agriculture than in any other occupation. The proportions of persons supported under trade, public administration, and the professions were larger in 1921 than similar proportions of workers in 1931, for the well-known reason that the number of dependents in these grades form a much larger proportion of persons supported than in other occupations.

248. Distribution per Division—The occupational distribution for the City and administrative divisions of all workers (earners and working dependents combined) is summarised in the following Table prepared from Subsidiary Table II-A :—

Sub-Class	Proportion of Workers in each occupation per 100 Total Workers					
	State	City	Central Gujerat	North Gujerat	South Gujerat	Kathiawad
I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.	71	6	74	71	80	65
II. Exploitation of Minerals ..	0.2	..	..	..	..	1
III. Industry	11	31	10	11	7	11
IV. Transport	1	7	1	1	1	2
V. Trade	6	15	4	6	3	7
VI. Public Force	1	11	1	1	1	1
VII. Public Administration. ..	1	8	1	1	1	1
VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts..	2	7	2	2	1	4
IX. Persons living on their income	0.4	3	..	1	..	..
X. Domestic Service	1	2	1	1	1	1
XI. Insufficiently described occupations	5	7	6	5	5	6
XII. Unproductive	0.4	3	..	..	..	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100

South Gujerat with its large Raniparaj population is always the most predominantly agricultural. The City, as may be expected, is the least. Kathiawad, with

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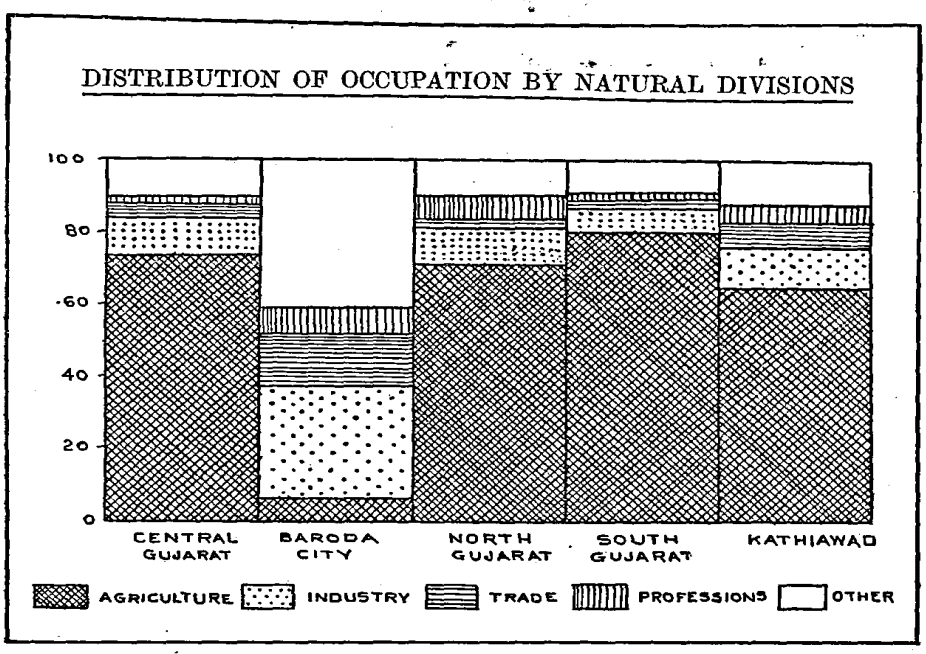
its Salt Works, shows the largest proportion of workers on minerals. The City again is the most commercial and industrial portion, followed *cum longo intervallo* by Kathiawad. The diagram below illustrating these contrasts may be of interest:—



249. Distribution of Non-working Dependents by Locality—The proportion of non-working dependents is a little more than half of the total population, but the small inset table shows how this proportion varied in different parts of the State. The highest proportion of dependence in both sexes as well as amongst females occurs in the City; for the dominant occupations there are trade, professions, public force and administration, in which females do not figure at all as earners or even working dependents. The next highest proportion of female dependence is in Kathiawad, where the composition of the people is largely of *purdah* observing castes, which do not usually allow their females either to work outside, or even to help their menfolk in their occupations. The female index shows that it is least in North and South Gujarat where agriculture predominates, in which occupation the sexes co-operate in the common toil far more than in other occupations, as we shall see presently. It is common knowledge that women are less of a burden to the family in an agricultural community than in a commercial one.

Division	Proportion of non-working dependents per 1,000 of each sex			Female Index of non-working dependency
	Persons	Male	Female	
Baroda State	**504**	**399**	**617**	**1,717**
Baroda City	597	398	840	1,701
Central Gujerat	512	382	656	1,541
North Gujerat	498	410	588	1,391
South Gujerat	462	394	530	1,332
Kathiawad	546	413	686	1,584

250. Occupation of Working Dependents—The definition of working dependents has been already indicated. A whole-time worker in the family occupation would ordinarily be returned as earner. A part-time worker on receipt of wages, would similarly go to that class: but a whole-time worker *who helps the principal member of his family in his family occupation,* will be classed as a working

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dependent; so also a part-time assistant (member of the family) working in the family occupation, *but without any wages*, would be classed as a working dependent. The instructions were fairly clear, but they were accompanied by such a wealth of illustrations that the census staff did not always comprehend them, particularly as these distinctions were entirely new. Secondly, the distinction above indicated between the whole-time *worker* and the whole-time *helper* left enough room for discretion to prevent uniform treatment of cases. Thirdly, there was the difficulty in the compilation of occupations of working dependents. In order to preserve some continuity with the past, it was decided by the Baroda Census that working dependents should be distributed according to the occupations they assisted in. The Occupation Tables (X and XI) were prepared on this basis. There was a difference of opinion amongst census officers on this matter. The point was whether to enter in column 11 the occupation in which the dependent assisted, or the occupation which described the form of assistance given. In 1921, the principal occupation of the earner on whom a dependent subsisted was entered against his name, but where he gave any substantial assistance in the family occupation, he became a worker, and it was laid down in his case that wherever the kind of assistance was specified, the occupation to be entered was to conform to the specification but that otherwise, the occupation of the principal member of the family was to be entered. Ordinarily a working dependent can be readily classed under the occupation of the earning member of the family, whatever may be the view held how to classify him—because, besides deriving support from it, the nature of the help he gives is part of the process of the occupation itself. But in agriculture, there is a difference. Thus the working dependents of a cultivating owner or tenant may be classed under the respective occupation of the earner himself, or be taken to the head of agricultural labour. But the latter proceeding is open to grave objections. Such working dependents cannot be obviously classed under agricultural labour, as the latter form of occupation is wage-earning and has no other nexus to the land, while working dependents have an abiding interest in the farm, and the forms of assistance, though partaking at times superficially of the nature of agricultural labour, are too indefinite to be classified as such, or again they may be combined with other forms of help or varied from time to time. Therefore it was decided by the Baroda Census, after long consideration, that working dependents, in all cases, should be classed under the principal occupation of their earners. Besides, an agricultural labourer can have presumably no working dependent; as such help, however given by his family, will ordinarily receive wages from their common employer and therefore entitle the helper to be classed as an earner.

251. Proportion of Working Dependents to Earners.—After explaining the basis on which the figures are compiled, we will now consider the following Table, which works out the proportion of working dependents to 100 earners in each of the twelve sub-classes of occupation. A diagram is given below showing how far in some of the principal occupations, assistance from working dependents is expected.

Sub-Class of Occupation	Total earners showing occupation as principal	Total working dependents	Proportion of working dependents to 1,000 earners
All Occupations	**958,961**	**251,514**	**262**
I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	632,785	223,128	352
II. Exploitation of Minerals	1,955	25	12
III. Industry	111,331	18,329	164
IV. Transport	15,418	445	28
V. Trade	59,009	8,056	136
VI. Public Force	13,998	23	1
VII. Public Administration	12,381	33	3
VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts	28,771	668	23
IX. Persons living on their income (order 50)	5,905	..	..
X. Domestic Service	7,914	2	..
XI. Insufficiently described occupations	65,044	78	1
XII. Unproductive	4,450	727	163

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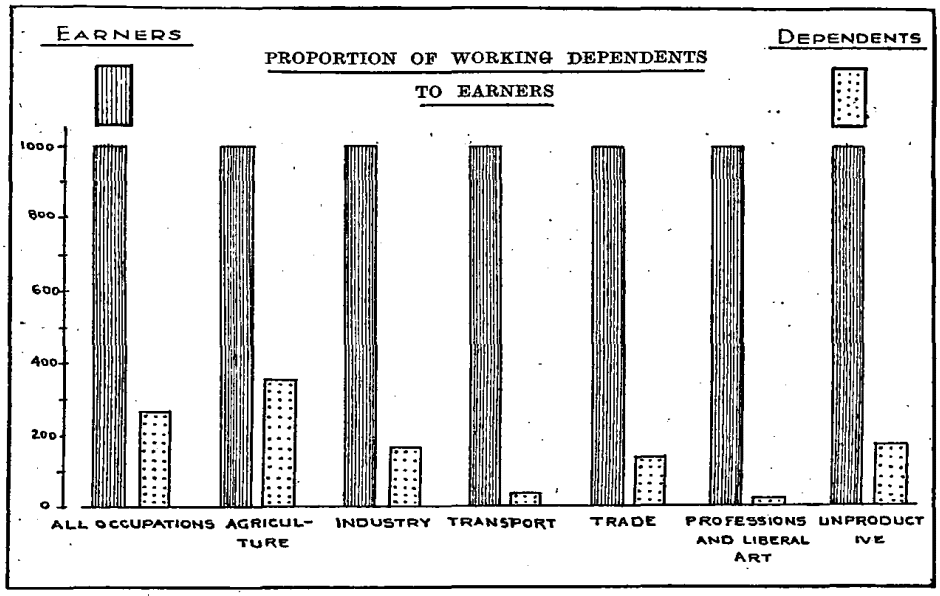
The greatest proportion of assistance is seen in Agriculture, the prime industry in the State, in which there is one working dependent to every three earners. Industry comes next in which the working dependents form 16 per cent of the earners. Independent means, public force and public administration hardly admit any form of working dependence. The professions indeed show a small proportion. On the whole, out of four earners, three plod alone, and the fourth has an assistant.



252. Working Dependence by Sex—Turning to the sex ratio amongst working dependents, it is interesting to find that the vast majority of them are women. There are nearly 5 women to one man assisting the earner of the family. The female index is the highest in agriculture. In industrial occupations, particularly of the cottage type, the earner receives far more assistance from the female members of the family than from the male. One reason why working dependence is predominantly female in character is that the male members as soon as they are able to work are turned on to active earning, they work whole-time, share actively in the wages of the family and thus are excluded from the class of working dependents. The female index in the total number of dependents (working and non-working) is 1,717. Of the female dependents, no less than 22 per cent are workers rendering some form of assistance to their earners.

Items	Female Index of working dependents (per 1,000 males)
All Occupations ..	**4,631**
Cultivation	5,987
Pasturage	1,700
Industry	2,743
Transport	780
Trade	1,104

§ 3. Points of Special Interest

253. Occupation of Females—Subsidiary Table III gives the main proportionate figures regarding the employments of women-workers. The question of women's occupations in this State is somewhat on a different footing from most other Provinces and States of India, for few castes in the State insist on their seclusion ; in consequence, the proportion of female workers is high. In 1911,

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there were 431 female workers to a thousand male. In 1921 the ratio was 396. In 1931, if earners were reckoned only, the proportion of female earners to 1,000 males would be 344 ; but if the calculation was extended to include working dependents as well, the ratio would rise to as much as 600. In certain specified occupations as set out in the margin the proportions of female workers (for 1931 earners separately and then earners and working dependents combined, and for 1921 workers only) are compared. They make interesting reading and afford some basis for comparsion with the figures of past censuses. It appears that if we only take earners for 1931, then there is a closer correspondence with 1921 ratios, than if we take earners and working dependents together. The great proportion of female workers amongst rent-receivers is due to the fact that the enumerators in 1931 took the formal *khatedar* as the basis of their returns. Where the holding was in the name of a woman, she was put down as earner, although the real worker was some male relative. Cultivating owners and tenants amongst female earners show, on the other hand, a big proportionate drop since 1921, because many women who would have been returned as workers under the 1921 classification were now returned as working dependents. But if the working dependents are added, the ratios become very high, showing how in the agriculturist castes, women generally help the men in their fields. Agrestic labourers are a purely wage-earning class according to the view taken in the Baroda Census ; and here the females of the lower classes generally preponderate. The decreasing ratios of women workers in such occupations as basket making, pottery, rice pounding and husking, and flour grinding and the increase under general as well as agricultural labour shows how the change, in social tastes, as well as the application of machinery to such home industries hitherto monopolised by females, has released them from such employ and made them drift to general labour of a casual kind or else to swell the ranks of agricultural workers. The growth of industrial establishments in the State has taken away women from domestic service, hitherto their preserve.

Group	Strength of female earners and working dependents in 1931	Strength of female earners only in 1931	Proportion of female earners and working dependents per 1,000 males in 1931	Proportion of female earners in 1931 per 1,000 males	Proportion of female workers per 1,000 males in 1921
Non-cultivating owners ..	8,823	8,823	741	741	625
Cultivating owners ..	191,760	27,674	604	95	181
Cultivating tenants ..	24,406	6,408	398	115	303
Agrestic labour	111,888	111,888	1,265	1,265	1,182
Cotton spinners, sizers, and weavers	8,519	8,309	510	500	510
Basket makers, etc. ..	1,506	967	856	601	1,062
Potters and makers of earthenware	4,816	1,069	860	218	494
Rice pounders, etc. ..	1,610	1,373	2,371	2,155	2,685
Tailors, Milliners	4,161	2,076	778	418	748
Scavengers, etc.	2,425	1,973	664	559	598
Domestic service	2,517	2,517	466	466	1,457
Labourers and workmen non-agricultural ..	40,567	40,567	1,818	1,818	1,182

254. Proportion of Female Workers by Castes—The proportion of female workers naturally varies according to social strata. In fact the tendency is that as a caste progresses in wealth and education, it acquires a new conception of its women's dignity and compels them to lead a life of dependence and enforced idleness. The Parsis are an exception, as their education on modern lines has developed a modern mentality. In Navsari besides, Parsi women from very old times have supplemented their family earnings by working on their *kastis* (sacred thread). Patidars, in spite of their advance in education, are still an agriculturist class and the claims of agriculture still require that their women should share a part of its soil. Below the Rajputs, who are typical of the Intermediate group, there is a large gap after which come the typically labouring classes who freely allow their women to share in the common struggle for existence. The progress of education, therefore, makes the problem

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of female dependence in the higher castes acuter than before. Through competition and other causes, such as the kind of education they are receiving, the men-folk in these classes are becoming more and more unable to keep up their old standard of living or to maintain their old level of earning power. In western countries where women have a varied education and numerous opportunities for specialised training in a variety of home-crafts, it is more possible for a woman of the higher classes than in India to take to a number of home occupations which are not only profitable but also interesting. Thus (*a*) pewter making, (*b*) embossing on leather, (*c*) the more artistic forms of bindery, (*d*) poultry farming, etc., may be mentioned. Some are not open to Indian women of similar classes on account of caste scruples, but many other ways such as the higher kinds of decorative wood work, painting on metals, lacquer work, the making and decoration of fans, clay modelling, wicker work and the like are still open. Widespread changes in social habit are however necessary, before any real variety in the occupational distribution of women can be expected in India.

Name of Caste	Proportion of female workers per 1,000 males
Prabhu	60
Vania	119
Saiyad	185
Luhana	206
Brahman	219
Lewa Patidar ..	335
Parsi	396
Maratha	410
Rajput	416
Vaghri	739
Thakarda	750
Chodhra	903
Vankar	944

255. Urban Occupations—The variety of the occupational range in urban areas may be now contrasted with the general distribution of occupations in the State. For the sake of comparison with the 1921 figures, only proportions calculated on earners for 1931 have been given. On that basis the marginal table has been prepared. It is interesting to see how the City is becoming increasingly industrial in character. The opening of new mills and the extension of industrial areas have given scope for a large increase amongst industrial workers who are, however, mostly immigrants, and have been mainly responsible for the increase in the City's population. Professions show a decline both in the State generally and in the City in particular, because priests and religious mendicants are now reduced in number; so also under letters, arts and sciences there is a slight decrease, although lawyers, doctors, and teachers have increased. The remaining occupations include public force and administration which together show an increase but in other respects there is a decline under insufficiently described and disreputable occupations.

Occupational Distribution of actual workers per mille

Occupation	State		City of Baroda	
	1931	1921	1931	1921
Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	660	658	63	62
Industries including Mines ..	118	121	307	234
Commerce and Transport ..	78	71	215	173
Professions and Arts	30	34	78	93
Remaining occupations ..	114	116	337	438
Total	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**

256. Regional Distribution of Working Population—The general body of the working population is distributed in very unequal proportions between the City, towns and rural areas. The City population is only 4.6 per cent, while other towns absorb 16.7 per cent. The remainder 78.7 per cent reside in the rural areas. The distribution of the working population generally conforms to these ratios, but in the different occupations, there are great contrasts. The City has only one-fifth of what it should have according to its strength, engaged in agriculture. Transport (Sub-Class IV) absorbs four times its required quota, public force over seven times, administration over six times

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Occupation	Percentage recorded of working population in		
	The City	Other towns	Rural areas
All Occupations	**4**	**14**	**82**
I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	1	6	93
II. Exploitation of Minerals ..	..	21	79
III. Industry	11	32	57
IV. Transport	20	29	51
V. Trade	10	40	50
VI. Public Force	36	20	44
VII. Public Administration ..	29	40	31
VIII. Professions	12	32	56
IX. Independent means	24	49	27
X. Domestic Service	12	50	38
XI. Insufficiently described ..	5	21	74
XII. Unproductive	24	30	46

and disreputable and unproductive occupations over five times. Persons of independent means are least in evidence in rural areas. Nearly two-thirds of the number of workers in domestic service are found in urban areas, showing how the rural population is poorer and more self-reliant than town-dwellers. Professions include a multiplicity of employments, but lawyers and doctors are concentrated in the City and other towns.

257. Variation in Proportions of Workers by Class of Towns—An even more striking contrast is seen from State Table VIII in which the occupations of towns are detailed. The marginal table is prepared by combining the State Table above mentioned and Imperial Table X. The main division of towns, as we have seen in Chapter II, is into (*i*) industrial and urbanised and (*ii*) agricultural and distributive. The distribution of workers in the main occupations is contrasted in these areas, and finally compared with the City at one end and the rural areas at the other. We see how the proportion of agriculturists rises from the City where it is the least through gradual stages in towns of different kinds to its maximum in rural areas. Conversely, industry and commerce claim the least attention of workers in villages: so also do professions and arts: and the proportions in these rise in a continuous grade to their height in the City. The contrast between urban and rural cannot be better exemplified than in the above inset, which also shows how closely alike the agricultural and distributive towns are to the villages from which they have been promoted.

Occupation	No. per 1,000 workers (earners and working dependents) in			
	The City	Industrial and urban towns	Agricultural and Distributive towns	Rural areas
Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	63	200	531	776
Industry	307	295	201	77
Commerce and Transport ..	215	209	121	45
Professions and Arts	78	62	44	22
Remaining occupations ..	337	234	103	80
Total ..	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**

Occupation	No. per 1,000 earners and working dependents in	
	City	State
Public Force	109	12
Public Administration	79	10
Living on own income	32	5
Professions and Liberal Arts	75	24
Textile Industry	108	9
Industries of Dress and Toilet	38	18
Food Industries	29	5
Rent from Land	6	17
Ordinary Cultivation	28	491
Field Labour	6	165
Pasturage	7	27
Transport	72	13
Trade in Textiles	15	5
Trade in General	132	51
Domestic Service	21	7
General Labour	60	52
Unproductive	26	4

258. Occupations in the City—The occupational distribution in the City deserves a little more detailed notice. The marginal list is not entirely exhaustive but it comprises the bulk of major employments and the contrast with the

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mean proportions for the State is striking. As being the capital and seat of the administration, there is little wonder that the strength of public force and administration as well as of learned professions is concentrated in the City. The luxury trades and industries as well as transport and domestic service find their chief scope in the capital also; in the disreputable professions also—the prostitute, the vagrant and the beggar—find in the City a more hospitable refuge than the countryside; on the other hand, agriculture, the main stay of the general population, is little in evidence. But there is more of it here than in the cities of the Bombay Presidency as it will appear from the second marginal table now given. The larger portion engaged in agriculture in Baroda City as compared to cities in Bombay is due to the growing tendency in this State of the non-agricultural classes to enhance their social status by taking to the land. The rapid decay of the old cottage industries and of local handicrafts has also contributed to this process.

Occupation	Proportion per 1,000 working population	
	Baroda City (earners) 1931	Bombay Presidency Cities 1921
Agriculture and Pasturage	60	27
Industry (including mining)	307	343
Trade	140	148
Professions	78	21
Remaining Occupations	415	461

259. Occupations of Literates in English—An attempt was made in 1921 for the first time to find out the occupations of persons literate in English. It was of importance to know how far English education was acting as a disintegrating influence and taking away persons from agriculture and artisan groups to clerical and other similar employments. The enquiry was extended now to both sexes and Subsidiary Table VI gives the absolute figures of earners and dependents in each sex for the whole State and the administrative divisions separately. But as the number of female literates in English is still very small, the consideration of the figures here will be mainly confined to males only. In the margin the occupational distribution of male literates in English is compared with the general population. From the figures of workers in 1921, an attempt is also made—although the basis is different—to compare the distribution in two censuses. We noticed in 1921 that amongst the English literates there was not the same consuming passion for agriculture as in the general population. This is more or less true in this census also. There are two reasons for this circumstance. In the first place, the English literates are largely recruited from town-dwelling classes that are not addicted to cultivation. Secondly, higher education does induce a distaste for agricultural toil. Public administration was found in 1921 to be the chief concern of the educated. From the 1931 figures, it would appear that trade has displaced it from its first place and that professions are not far behind. In regard to public administration, figures of two censuses are alone comparable as there can hardly be any working dependency for this kind of work. There is a large proportionate decline amongst the educated workers in the ranks of public service, although

Sub-Class	Workers distributed per 1,000 in		Occupational distribution in general
	1931	1921	
All Occupations	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**
Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	132	121	707
Minerals	..	..	2
Industry	25	49	107
Transport	91	97	13
Trade	169	145	55
Public Force	28	28	12
Public Administration	168	206	10
Professions	135	196	24
Living on own income	82	58	5
Domestic Service	7	3	7
Insufficiently described	163	92	54
Unproductive	..	5	4

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there are now 3,216 English knowing male workers in the public service as against only 1,891 in 1921.

260. The Working Population amongst the English Educated compared with other Sections—It will be interesting now to compare the occupational distribution of the educated with other sections of the population in order to see the reactions of higher education on the working capacity or disposition of the people. For this purpose, State Table XIV-B is valuable. In that table, by a special sort, the figures of the occupational distribution in the three main classes of earner, working dependent and non-working dependent of the male population aged 20-40 were compiled according to literacy for the different administrative divisions. As the ages were compiled according as they were returned, without any kind of smoothing, the totals will not correspond to the figures in Imperial Tables VII and XIII. Altogether 364,345 persons had returned ages between 20 and 40.* Of these, 15,093 were literate in English, 134,047 were otherwise literate and 215,215 were illiterate. The marginal table shows that the more 'educated' a man is, the greater is his dependency in this State. The proportion of workers amongst the English-educated is far less than in the general male adult population and the number of working dependents amongst them is relatively the least. This characteristic of the returns is even more strikingly shown in the marginal table now inserted. It seems that wherever English education is most widely prevalent, as in the City and Baroda division, there the proportion of dependency is the highest and that of working dependency the least. To be a working dependent implies a preparatory training in the processes of the trade or industry concerned. English education would seem hitherto to have served to divorce the English educated member from the family occupation itself.

Males aged 20-39	Proportion per mille who are		
	Earners	Working dependents	Non-working dependents
All Males	922	60	18
All male literates	906	64	30
Male literates in English only..	786	48	166
Male literates in vernacular only.	919	66	15
All Illiterate males	934	56	10

Division	Male literates in English aged 20-40 per 1,000		
	Earner	Working dependent	Total dependent
State	786	48	166
City	689	15	196
Amreli Division	890	70	40
Baroda Division	779	82	139
Mehsana Division	842	44	114
Navsari Division	837	50	113
Okhamandal	940	3	57

261. Dependency of the English Literates in the Adult Ages—This brings us to the question of dependency in the adult age-periods. State Table XIV-B only takes the two groups of 20-30 and 30-40 which cover the bulk of the normal working population. It was not deemed necessary to compile for other age-periods, specially as the Table was meant as a corrective for the defects in the Unemployment return. The number of non-working dependents amongst the English educated males of the adult ages was 2,516, of whom 2,307 were between 20 and 30. In 1921, the number of English educated dependents aged 20-30 was 1,185. Thus the figures have nearly doubled themselves in ten years. Proportionately the variation however would show a decline from 27 per cent to 24 of total literates in the age group 20-30. This does not warrant our assuming however that the conditions have improved since 1921, as the proportion for 1931 does not include the working

* This figure differs from the total of ages 20-39 in the Annual Age Return (State Table XVI) by 2,553, the adult population of the Camp, which was not included in State Table XIV.

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dependents aged 20-30. If the working dependents are so included, the ratio rises to nearly 30 per cent for 1931. Therefore really the comparison would indicate that adult dependency amongst the English educated has increased both relatively and absolutely. This is due mainly to three causes. The nature of present day English education with its predominantly literary courses is such that it does not adequately fit the adolescent groups to take up the callings in which their more unlettered fathers had worked. Secondly the English educated have not the same aptitude and interest as their less fortunate fellows for the callings of their fathers. Thirdly there is not enough scope for them in the professions or public service, for which their education mainly trains them, and to which they mostly aspire.

262. The Volume of Unemployment in the State: Imperial Table XII—The above three causes are the prime factors that are behind the unemployment problem in the State. The attempt to record details of the unemployed who are educated in the English language was made therefore with the object of remedying the defects in the present system of education and in other ways of mitigating the distress that has been caused. Imperial Table XII shows that the attempt here has largely failed. We have the consolation however that in this respect, our fate has been shared by other Provinces and States in India. The Census Commissioner for India in his circular No. 25-Comp., dated 4th February 1932, has actually advised Provincial Superintendents and Commissioners in States to drop this Table from the Tables Volume in view of the paucity of returns and relegate the results compiled to the indignity of an appendix to the Report. But as in this State we have by a special sort attempted to supply a corrective to the returns actually compiled by the unemployment census, we have decided to include a brief reference here. The analysis need only be brief in this Report, as all the data collected have been handed over to Professor Kamdar of the Baroda College, who is given the special charge of studying the subject, supplementing the census details with independent enquiries and writing a special report on his researches. State Table XIV-A and B —read with Subsidiary Table VI—will enable the reader to form some idea of the volume of unemployment in this State. The figures compiled however are confined to the male sex—the problem of unemployment amongst women being considered not so urgent as to need immediate attention. Imperial Table XII shows that there were only 348 unemployed males educated in English in the State on the census date, of whom 282 were aged 20 and over. Only 270 aged 20-39 or 2.6 per cent of the English literates of these ages were willing to confess that they were unemployed. Of these 115 were Brahmans, 144 other Hindus, 6 Muslims and 5 belonged to other communities. Amongst them, there was only one with a British degree, 11 had Indian degrees of various kinds (3 being B.Sc.'s, 2 engineers and 1 a doctor). Matriculates amongst the unemployed numbered 76 and the non-matrics were 182. It is curious that not one, whose qualifications were above matriculation but below a degree, came forward to return himself as an unemployed. Most of the unemployed belonged to the age group 20-25. Only 27 were aged 30 years and over. Of the 270 unemployed in the adult ages, 233 or over four-fifths stated that they were unemployed for more than a year. Apart from figures of actual unemployment, the unemployment schedule included a query as to whether a person though not totally unemployed failed to obtain a post with which he was not satisfied. 31 persons came forward to state that they failed to obtain employments which were suited to them. Most of these preferred an academic career to their present work, which was either agricultural or connected with industry. Some, who were teachers would rather prefer a post of an administrative or otherwise more lucrative kind, a feeling which is readily understandable. But the most surprising part was that the answers were so few. The returns betoken a degree of contentment, which is of course far from true. The unemployment slips were broadcast and the census staff was instructed to supply every house which had a literate in English with a form. Professor Kamdar who has already started the work of the special enquiry above stated assured me that he was meeting with a good deal of unwillingness on the part of unemployed persons to come forward to declare their state. But ordinarily there should not have been any objection about stating that they were dissatisfied with their present lot, as divine discontent is an essential part of education!

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263. Limitations of the Return: State Table XIV-B—It is necessary therefore to get at the real volume of unemployment. In the ordinary course of things dependency in the adult ages ought to be identical with unemployment. The adolescent groups are largely engaged in schooling. But in the absence of a continuation school movement which could profitably employ an adolescent after he has finished school during the years preceding his employment in active labour, the problem of unemployed boyhood—so fruitful as the nursery of future criminals, is attaining some magnitude with castes which do not favour higher education. Confining ourselves however for the moment to the adult population in two groups of 20-30 and 30-40 we must consider some factors before we decide whether adult dependency is coterminous with adult unemployment. In the first place working dependents will have to be added to non-working to get at the gross extent of unemployment. Secondly young men aged 20 and above who are studying in the colleges and high schools here and outside the State will have to be omitted from the total of dependents to find out the true extent of unemployment. Thirdly it must be remembered that the ranks of earners include many persons who are temporarily out of employ. The general census instructions lay down that persons who are only temporarily out of work are to be shown as earners under their normal or previous occupation and that persons who are so permanently (or from the beginning) without employment should be returned as dependent. These instructions of course are primarily meant for workers in seasonal factories, cultivators and agricultural labourers in their slack months and such like. But the earners' total undoubtedly includes many cases of genuine unemployed who are temporarily out of work and suffering real distress on that account, about whom the census cannot afford any clue. Not only that but the general instructions are not precise. "Temporarily" was not defined—no limit of time was purposely set, because even if it was set, the census staff would not have been able to make effective use of it and get really reliable data. The time element comes into the special unemployment census, but as most of the real unemployed escaped our net, it was futile in its operation.

264. Corrected Estimate of the Unemployed—With these preliminary considerations we proceed to analyse the results. The marginal figures are the summary of State Table XIV-B for the whole state. We find that more than one-fifth of the literates in English are dependent. Fom this number, the students in colleges and high schools will have to be omitted. 570 males are students of the college here who are aged between 20-30. 605 others of these ages are enrolled in high schools and other institutions of the secondary stage. This number does not include persons studying in colleges and schools outside the State but were residing here at the time of the census and counted as part of our population. Further the dependent total of 3,233 does not include the temporarily unemployed, who are compiled as earners under the instructions issued for the census, to which reference has been made already. These two factors may be said to cancel each other. This leaves us with 2,058 males educated in English and aged between 20 and 40, who are really unemployed, instead of the meagre 270 who returned themselves as such. As the number deducted falls within the first of the two adult age-groups, those aged 30-40 form only a little over 10 per cent of our estimate of the total adult unemployed amongst the English educated. Our corrected figure for the unemployed reduces the proportion of true dependency amongst the English literates from 214 to 136 per mille. Amongst the literates in the vernacular, there are only about 186 males aged 20 and over studying in the primary schools. As a set off to this figure, we have to include say 500 males entered as earners under the "temporarily

Age Periods	Working and non-working dependents (males)			
	English Literates	Literates in Vernacular	Illiterate	Population
20 — 30	2,923	10,838	14,251	28,322
30 — 40	310			
Proportion per Mille for Age Period 20—40	214	81	66	77

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out of work clause" referred to in para 263 above. Thus there remain 11,202 adult unemployed males who, though not educated in English are still literate in some language (presumably their own vernacular). To the illiterate group of unemployed we add 802 (being the *pro rata* figure of the temporarily out of work entered as earners) and thus get 15,053 as the true extent of unemployment in the State amongst the illiterate. Adding the figures for the three sections, together the true volume of unemployment in the State is 28,313 amongst the adult male population, that is to say, one out of thirteen male adults is unemployed: in other words 78 per mille of adult males are really out of work. These 78 are made up of 41 illiterates, 31 literates in the vernacular and 6 educated in English. Our estimate for the unemployed amongst the English literates can be distributed in the different divisions as in the margin. The problem is the acutest in Central Gujarat, probably in Charotar, where English education of the secondary type is widespread.

Natural Division	Estimated No. of adult unemployed amongst the English literates	Proportion per mille of unemployment
State	**2,058**	**136**
City	622	141
Central Gujarat	703	176
North Gujarat	379	118
South Gujarat	273	115
Kathiawad	81	73

265. Non-working Dependency by Caste—A more intimate view of the unemployment problem is provided by the results revealed in State Table XIV-A, in which in selected castes, non-working dependents are distributed by sex and age-groups. The marginal table summarises the main facts from State Table XIV-A. The Advanced groups show the acutest stage of dependence, particularly amongst Parsis, Brahmans, Vanias and Maratha - Kshatriyas. The Indian Christians are being rapidly educated in English and among them unemployment is also acute. In fact the higher is the literacy, the greater is the extent of dependence in the social groups. The Intermediate and lower classes which do not look down on manual labour show a far less extent of adult dependency. The cultivating classes (Kadwa and Lewa Patidar and Anjana) show a comparatively high incidence in this respect, partly because agriculture has begun to show the operation of the law of diminishing returns, and partly also because vast new masses of workers from other classes are being turned on to the land, throwing the able-bodied amongst the true farming class out of employment.

Caste	Non-working Dependency: Male non-working dependents 17 and over	Total male strength 17 and over	Proportion per mille aged 17 and over of non-working dependents
Advanced			
Brahman	4,480	40,612	110
Vania	2,817	27,011	104
Maratha-Kshatriya	422	4,319	97
Parsi	266	1,836	145
Lewa Patidar	4,254	73,498	58
Intermediate			
Anjana Chaudhari	492	11,697	42
Kadwa Patidar	2,973	61,271	49
Rajput	1,201	29,822	40
Indian Christian	210	2,152	98
Muslim	2,159	34,077	63
Baria	544	31,741	17
Illiterate			
Talabda	610	16,774	36
Thakarda	2,217	53,793	41
Depressed Classes	2,542	52,006	49
Primitive and Forest Tribes	2,643	83,171	32

266. Traditional Occupation in Different Castes—One other direction in which the figures throw light on the social changes is the extent to which the different castes are keeping to their traditional occupations. The marginal table has been prepared from the Subsidiary Table V for this purpose: selected castes have been arranged into (*i*) high figures, where the proportion of workers

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(earners) in the traditional occupation is 500 per mille and over and (*ii*) low figures, where the ratios are below this limit. The castes taken are representative samples. Amongst high ratio castes, Vanias are traditionally traders, but Shrimali shows a high incidence and Lad a relatively low one, of the traditional occupation. The low figures regarding traditional occupation are instructive. Not all Brahmans are priests even by tradition; for Anavalas are landlords and cultivators, Nagars (at least a section of them) despise the calling of priesthood, and Tapodhans are only in the humble business of temple service. Audich amongst Brahmans shows the highest proportion of workers as priests; even then hardly one out of five earners among them follows the hereditary calling. Rajputs are supposed to be the hereditary soldiers of India and yet in this State, only 3 per cent follow the profession of arms. Audich Brahmans have drifted to a variety of other occupations (land with 251 earners per mille, professions with 160, trade with 110 and public administration with 65). Rajputs have largely gone in for cultivation (643 per mille). Maratha-Kshatriyas have still some interest in arms, but hardly one in four workers among them follows that calling; of the rest of them 20 per cent have crowded the public offices and 14 have found scope in Industry. Amongst Vankars, only 23 per cent are weavers, but 38 per cent are field labourers and 18 have taken to farming as owners or tenants. Turning to Saiyads only 7 per cent of their earners have stuck to their old calling of religion: 21 have drifted to cultivation and 21 have found employment in the services or the professions.

Caste	Traditional Occupation	Number per 1,000 earners in 1931	Number per 1,000 workers in 1921
High Figures			
Darji	Tailor	940	964
Soni	Goldsmith	839	863
Sutar	Carpenter	796	761
Thakarda	Cultivator and Agrestic Labourer	795	..
Lewa Patidar	Landlord and Cultivator	790	817
Shrimali	Trader	770	748
Mochi	Shoe-maker	734	791
Anavala	Landlord and Cultivator	710	785
Luhana	Trader	725	651
Kadwa Patidar	Cultivator	679	836
Lad Vania	Trader	554	538
Memon	Trader	626	700
Dishawal Vania	Trader	613	614
Kumbhar	Potter	364	600
Bhangi	Scavenger	366	532
Low Figures			
Vankar	Weaver	234	251
Maratha-Kshatriya	Public Force	230	259
Audich Brahman	Priest	209	207
Mewada Brahman	Priest	197	100
Pinjara	Carder	164	235
Deshastha Brahman	Priest	98	96
Saiyad	Priest	69	86
Ravalia	Tape weaver and drummer	60	150
Shenva	Rope-maker and Village watchman	46	32
Rajput	Public Force	30	31

The marginal table given above also attempts a comparison with the proportion of workers in the traditional occupation in 1921. Strictly no comparison is possible as the basis of the figures is different. Broadly one or two conclusions follow. The unclean occupations are being gradually deserted. Bhangis and Shenvas have taken more and more to other callings. This is a serious matter, as the sanitary services already understaffed in the rural areas are in peril of being seriously in want of workers in the near future. Secondly the artisan groups show little tendency of leaving their old professions. Where power has displaced the hand, and public taste has altered, there some of the traditional occupations are rapidly giving way before modern forces. Thus enamelled iron wares have invaded where the potter's humble stock in trade held sway. The patent lanterns are rapidly transplanting the earthenware lamps. It is no wonder therefore that the Kumbhars are fast giving up their traditional calling. The Vania and other trading castes are still tenaciously clinging to their ancestral profession. But as to the other advanced groups, the more educated they become, the more they tend to move away from their old moorings. Lastly the groups that had hitherto held steadfastly to the land are showing signs of a wavering faith in its capacity for unvarying return.

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267. Subsidiary Occupations—One other point of general interest may be briefly discussed before the figures of individual occupation are taken in hand. The question of subsidiary occupations is always of great economic interest but the census by the very limitation of its functions is of little use in this regard. The Census Act expressly prevents the enumerating staff from enquiring into the size of an individual's income and yet the distinction between the principal and subsidiary occupations is based on the extent of earnings received from either. The earner himself does not much appreciate this distinction. He would rather put forward the occupation from which he derived the greater prestige as his principal one, relegating to the background the other calling from which he may be deriving more income. I was myself an interested listener to a wordy argument between one of my enumerators and a government servant, unacquainted with census intricacies. The latter held that although as owner of a little plot of tobacco land in Charotar he was actually earning more money than his pay as a government servant, he would prefer to return public service as his principal occupation to which he devoted more time, and from which he derived his status and social position. There was a good deal to be said for his point of view but the census instructions were precise and inexorable, and his personal predilections had to be set aside. But really on the whole we get so little out of the record of subsidiary occupations that it is a question whether on future occasions of economic survey this important item should not be entrusted to other agencies less amateurish, more qualified, and with more time at their disposal than the census staff of enumerators. That the census record of subsidiary occupations is woefully incomplete is apparent from the fact that out of 10,000 of the population, 4,955 are workers. These workers are divided into 4,684 who have returned only one occupation and only 271 (or about one-eighteenth of the working population) who have sported one or more subsidiary. Only if we divided the earners into two broad groups of agricultural and non-agricultural, we can see how each class reacts on the other in the occupational field. The marginal table takes the number of earners in each class, and proportions of those who have shown the other class as subsidiary are calculated and shown side by side. It is natural that where agriculture is the most dominant system there all other occupational groups will be more influenced by it than *vice versa*. That is what the marginal figures emphasise. Women of course are far less affected than men. As to the agricultural population, if the figures are to be believed, it would appear that in spite of the ample leisure on their hands, few workers have betaken themselves to other sources of subsidiary income. That the agriculturist in the State, as in India elsewhere has leisure cannot be doubted. Mr. Calvert in his study on *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab* estimates that the work done by the average cultivator covers not more than 150 days in the year, and that even when he is occupied, his idea of a full day's work is more leisurely than a farmer's in the more progressive countries of Western Europe and America. Perhaps the remark is not exactly true for this State. The days of leisure are fewer in Gujarat and the ideas of work more efficient and sustained. But for at least half the year a cultivator is idle ; and yet it is tragic to think that so few of them are engaged in other occupations. The problem is complicated however by many factors into which it is not possible to enter here in any detail. In the first place the farmer's leisure is not so continuous as one would imagine. His work is often intermittent. Particularly if he is the owner of an irrigated farm as in Charotar, he has far less leisure than others. This circumstance results in lack of training in other occupations, which weights a farmer from the very outset even if he has the desire to work on a subsidiary trade or industry. He cannot obviously join any new industry without previous training. Further there is not much scope or opportunity for such work. A farmer would most like an opening somewhere near his holding for subsidiary activity. This is very seldom the case under present conditions. Again religious

Sex	Number per mille of Earners only among	
	Agriculturists who show some non-agricultural occupation as subsidiary	Non-agriculturists who show agriculture as subsidiary
Male	65	121
Female	20	36
Both sexes	54	99

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prejudice is a great hindrance often to the Gujarat peasantry, who is predominantly Hindu. Sericulture or poultry farming will therefore not have any appeal for them. Lastly the lack of marketing facilities at present hamper progress in any activities undertaken in this behalf.

§ 4. Analysis of Certain Principal Occupations

268. Agriculture—We shall now take up some of the chief occupations and discuss some of the features of interest that the figures reveal. We shall commence with Agriculture, the principal occupation of the people. Altogether 630,814 persons returned themselves as earners under ordinary cultivation. In 1921, the number of workers was 547,634. The two figures are not exactly comparable, as we know that many now returned as working dependents must have been shown as workers in 1921. This is most likely to have happened with female workers. If we confine ourselves only to males, the number of earners now is 449,001 while that of workers in 1921 was 382,452, the increase being 17 per cent. Cultivating owners (males) have increased by 15,470, or only 6 per cent to 292,478. The factor of working dependency however vitiates the comparison, but in landlords and other rent receivers at one end and agricultural labourers at the other end, we have the only two classes in agriculture in which working dependency is normally not expected to exist. Here we have some basis of comparison with past figures. The number of workers in these two grades is compared for the last three censuses. The figures do not show any features worth noting. The increase under landlords and other non-cultivators is more apparent than real; as soon as a cultivating owner can afford to do so, he would wish to pass off as a landlord and zamindar. Possibly some proportion of the increase is due to inflation on this account, but there is a real increase in this class as evidenced by the fact that large sized holdings (100 bighas and over) now number 8,180 as against only 6,835 in 1921. The strength of agricultural labour has really shrunk since 1911. The falling off in 1921 was probably due to better record in the previous census, of labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified numbering 42,828 in 1921 as against 27,931 in 1911.

Class	Workers in		
	1931	1921	1911
Landlords and other non-cultivators.	20,731	6,787	9,919
Farm servants and agricultural labourers.	200,304	179,271	201,224

269. Distribution of Agriculturist Groups—*The Hali System*—The marginal table proportions the agricultural workers to a 1,000 of the working population in each division and distributes this ratio amongst the different grades of workers on the land. The two most marked features are the very high proportion of agricultural labourers (farm servants) in South Gujarat, and the even higher proportion of cultivating owners in North Gujarat. South Gujarat is the home of the peculiar system of indentured labour not far removed from serfdom which is known as the *Hali*. The *Halis* or permanent farm servants are mostly recruited from the Ranipa-raj tribes. They receive money in advance from their employers and bind themselves

Agriculturist Groups	Divisional Distribution—Proportion per mille of workers in				
	State	Central Gujarat	North Gujarat	South Gujarat	Kathiawad
All Agriculturists ..	676	647	670	768	618
Non-Cultivators	17	20	20	6	14
Cultivating owners ..	420	316	538	345	395
Cultivating tenants ..	71	118	24	115	22
Agricultural Labourers and Farm-servants.	166	189	85	301	115
Estate Agents, etc. ..	2	4	3	1	2

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by a written or oral agreement for a number of years to work out the debt for their masters. The master or *dhaniamo* on the other hand generally takes care to see that the debt is not cleared by plying his servant with more advances, and if he happens to be a Parsi, and a liquor seller to boot, he has a ready supply of a more effective inducement to keep his serf by his side. There are two chief types—the *bandhela* and the *chhuta hali*. The former is bound as a serf and often runs away. The latter receives some wages nominal in amount but within the meaning of the Act to bring him to the class of free labourer. In July 1923, the Government of the State by proclamation declared this whole system of forced indenture as illegal and allowed the Raniparaj serf to repudiate it if he chose to. But the intentions of the Government were not properly interpreted by subordinate revenue officials and the operation of the Government's order is therefore not effective. The *chhuta hali* receiving nominal wages has indeed come to exist in large numbers, but in reality the new guise is not effective in concealing the old status. The figures for farm servants were not separately compiled in this census, but all observers agree in holding that the system is dying out, as it is no longer economical to work with *hali* labour. In the long run it is more expensive than ordinary labour.

"Forty years ago," writes Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta, M.A. (Oxon.), PH.D. (Lond.), in his *Study of Rural Economy of Gujarat*, "it was possible to get a *hali* by advancing Rs. 50. The advance to-day amounts to Rs. 200 to 300. The maintenance of a *hali* did not cost more than Rs. 40 to 50 a year forty years ago. To-day the expenses of maintaining a *hali* come to Rs. 122 a year."

	Rs.	a.	p.	
A loaf of *juwar* of ¾ seers a day	17	8	0	a year.
Rice one seer a day	27	0	0	,,
Dal (pulse)	11	8	0	,,
Juwar—two seers a day	45	0	0	,,
Clothes and shoes	13	0	0	,,
Tobacco	8	0	0	,,
Rs.	122	0	0	,, ,,

270. Comparison with Revenue Statistics—All landlords and other non-cultivators and also all cultivating-owners are likely to be *khatedars* or registered holders in the State. The figures obtained of such holders from the Revenue department show very close correspondence. The burden of agricultural toil falls on the cultivating owners, tenants and agrestic labourers and it is found that together with their working dependents, 100 cultivators are required for tilling 0.65 square mile of 416 acres of the gross sown area. The average size of individual holdings in Baroda is only 18.7 bighas or 11 acres. The marginal table (with 1921 figures* for other provinces) compares the state of things with the rest of India. The peasant proprietary system in the State has encouraged the growth of small holdings thereby inducing a horde of non-farming classes to try their luck on the land. The result is a shrinkage in agricultural labour, but as the wage level has not risen and the prices have continued high, the economic distress and resulting

KIND	Earners	Working dependents	No. of earners showing occupation as subsidiary	Total earners	No. of Khatedars
Landlords and other non-cultivators	20,731	..	5,958	26,689	357,429
Cultivating owners	320,152	188,940	9,453	329,605	
Cultivating tenants	62,123	23,555	4,970	67,093	..

STATE OR PROVINCE	No. of acres cultivated per 100 cultivators
Bombay	1,215
N. W. F. Province	1,122
The Punjab	918
C. P. and Berar	848
Burma	565
Madras	491
Baroda	**416**
Bengal	309
Assam	296

* From the India Census Report of 1921, page 244.

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discontent are acute among the lower grades of labour which live on the margin of subsistence. The reactions of the influx of a non-farming class into agriculture are seen in various ways. Standards of agricultural produce have in a manner deteriorated where these classes have squatted on the land. In other ways, they have cheapened labour and done nothing to improve its efficiency. Lastly they have strengthened the tendency to grow food crops of the coarser variety in preference to non-food. Although as we have seen in Chapter I that the proportion of cultivated area sown with food crops has not declined, the yield of non-food crops shows an increase since 1910. Compared to 1920 however, the non-food crop yield is less. But the reader must be cautioned here that the crop yield figures are not accurate being largely the guess work of *talatis*. The 1920 figures of yield of food crops were perhaps exceptional coming as they did after the great drought of 1919, but compared to 1910, there is a real decline in the production of food grains, in comparison with which the fluctuations in the yield of cotton are not serious. The contraction in the yield of luxury foods is even more serious than the commoner staples, proving that the newer classes who have taken to the land are not yet trained to grow such crops. In the meantime the figures of transfer of land through sale from agriculturists to non-agriculturists show that the movement grew in strength from 1909 until the end of 1926 when a decline has set in. The exceptional year of 1919-20 forced the pace of this movement for a while. Perhaps any further increase in this direction will mean widespread changes in the rural economy. In various ways it is seen—to quote from what I wrote in 1921—" that the true agriculturists are feeling the necessity of change. The contraction of credit due to many forces, . . . the rapidly diminishing surplus of available land, the influence of modern education and thought weakening the ties that have hitherto bound the cultivator to his soil, the insistent call of the towns with their industries and their higher wages to the aspiring youths of the countryside—all these are causes that operate in this respect." That these forces have so far been retarded is due mainly to the unpreparedness of the Indian worker to move out of his old moorings and venture into untried fields of industrial enterprises. The lack of capital due to the contraction of money in the maelstorm of world forces has also operated to prevent the accomplishment of large schemes. Lastly one would mention that the wage-level has been prevented from rising, because of the helplessness of the underdog in the agricultural industry, the unorganised labourer, who seeking perforce a refuge from other fields has so far been unable to drive a hard bargain. Thus the cost of production has not increased appreciably, although the prices of food grains have fallen.

Food	Yield in Maunds of 40 pounds (000 omitted)		
	1910	1920	1930
Food Crops	*24,079*	*11,197*	*18,194*
Rice	4,852	1,957	2,900
Juwar	7,361	4,430	5,561
Bajri	7,177	3,113	6,638
Kodra	1,505	706	1,341
Pulse	1,709	289	538
Wheat	1,475	702	1,143
Gram	..	..	73
Non-Food	*4,978*	*6,959*	*5,139*
Cotton	3,906	5,131	4,565
Sugar cane ..	39	190	81
Tobacco	480	263	275
Linseed	114	774	..
Rapeseed	439	601	218

Year	Average Area (in bighas) of land transferred annually from agriculturists to	
	Agriculturists	Non-Agriculturists
1909-12	46,712	16,260
1912-17	79,156	18,969
1919-20	88,828	34,019
1920-25	83,411	20,472
1925-26	83,887	28,979
1926-30	55,168	13,820

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271. Industry: General Distribution—After agriculture, the next in importance, *cum longo intervallo* is Industry (Subclass III) which has 13 orders and 59 classes. Some of these do not occur in the State at all such as industries connected with jute of such importance in Bengal, manufacture and refining of mineral oils and manufacture of *ganja*. The main industries in the State are connected with textiles, the common rural occupations like carpentry, food industries such as rice pounding and husking of corn, industries connected with iron and other metals, tailoring, building, pottery and shoe-making. The question of decaying industries will be considered briefly in an appendix. The distribution of the main orders is shown in the margin. The most important groups are the textile industries that are ancillary to the cotton crop, the chief non-food product of the State. Subsidiary Table IV gives the absolute figures of earners and working dependents in the main orders and groups with the corresponding total of workers in 1921. The figures are not exactly comparable as so often pointed out, because of the intrusion in the present census of the factor of working dependency; any discussions therefore of variation in absolute figures will be out of place. The proportionate variations also do not call for much notice as the proportionate distribution of earners and working dependents in 1931 is practically the same as that of workers ten years ago, except that the relative strength of workers in ceramics and dress industries has visibly declined.

Order	Name of Selected Industries	Proportion of earners and working dependents per 1000	Proportion of actual workers per 1000 in 1921	Actual number of workers and working dependents	Number of skilled and unskilled factory workers	Estimated number of cottage workers
	All Industries ..	**170.1**	**121**	**129,660**	**20,127**	**105,141**
5	Textiles	31.8	31	38,673	16,789	18,358
6	Hides and Skin, etc ..	6.6	7	8,036	..	8,036
7	Wood	10.9	13	13,293	..	13,293
8	Metals	4.5	6	5,476	398	5,026
9	Ceramics	11.4	15	13,887	334	13,489
10	Chemical Products ..	3.5	5	4,281	1,305	2,702
11	Food Industries ..	4.6	5	5,647	133	5,406
12	Dress and Toilet ..	18.3	22	22,205	..	22,205
14	Building Industry ..	5.1	7	6,172	586	5,476
13, 15, 16 and 17	All other Industries ..	10.6	10	11,990	582	11,150

272. The Textile Group—31 per mille of total workers in the State are engaged in this important branch of activity as their principal occupation. 2 per mille have shown other occupations as principal and some branch or other of textiles as their subsidiary. Possibly as hand weaving and spinning is receiving wide encouragement, the figures of only 787 earners who have returned cotton spinning, sizing and weaving as a subsidiary occupation cannot be accepted as a complete record. The number of workers on the ginning, cleaning and pressing of cotton can be compared profitably with the corresponding figure of workers in 1931, as no working dependents in these processes were recorded. The variation shows an increase of over 36 per cent which occurs entirely amongst factory workers, proving that these preliminary processes of the manufacture of cotton have almost entirely passed from the hand workers to factories using mechanical power. Dyers and calenderers have increased slightly, but factory workers amongst them have jumped from 691 to 1,028.

273. Other Industries—Next to the textiles, which absorb 298 per mille of industrial workers, the most important individual groups are noted in the margin. Tailors and milliners have increased largely, while potters have declined. The Kumbhars have indeed increased in strength but their attachment to their hereditary calling is rapidly falling off, because of lack of demand in public taste

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Individual Occupations	Number of earners and working dependents in 1931	Proportion per 1,000 engaged in industry
Potters	10,416	80
Tailors, etc.	9,505	73
Barbers, etc.	7,141	55
Shoe-makers	3,668	28
Manufacturers of Vegetable Oils, etc.	3,330	26
Rice Pounders	2,289	18

for the higher and more artistic varieties of the potter's art. The most inefficient of the Kumbhars are stuck to the cruder products which are all that the poor will need, but the better and more ambitious sections are seeking more lucrative outlets for their talent. Some have invaded the carpenter's preserve, others are in the building industry, and not a few have taken to the land. The growth of rice mills in South Gujarat, and the City, coupled with the fact that rice no longer figures as largely in the dietary of the people as before, accounts for the large and continuous decrease amongst workers in rice pounding and husking and grinding of corn since 1911.

274. Cottage and Factory Workers—Next to the general distribution of industrial workers, the most significant point of interest in the statistics regarding them is their division into cottage and factory. The number of factory workers has been separately compiled from homeworkers since industrial returns were specially collected in 1921. The strength of organised workers was not compiled from the census returns in 1931, but from a special industrial schedule, devised as in 1921, and differing only in a few particulars. This schedule was supplied to all industrial establishments of the factory type, whether employing mechanical power or not. The particulars in which the schedule differed from the 1921 return are as below :—

(*i*) In 1921, a separate schedule was issued to the manager of each industrial establishment in the State for which purpose a preliminary register was first prepared per mahal of industrial establishments which either employed some form of mechanical power or were worked by hand. On this occasion it was decided that the census should merely settle and issue the forms of the schedule and that the actual details should be got filled in by the Director of Commerce and Industries.

(*ii*) In 1921, only such establishments as employed 10 operatives and more were included in the register. In 1931, we decided to do away with this minimum limit.

(*iii*) While we dispensed on the present occasion with details of the kind of power employed, the differentiation of skilled and unskilled, and the caste of operatives, we decided to enter details re : the welfare staff employed.

(*iv*) Lastly we did not in this census have a special enquiry relating to cottage industries, as on the last occasion we were not able to collect reliable data and the Commerce department and the local revenue staff produced rival lists of cottage industries between which the statistician had to flounder as best as he could.

The marginal table in the preceding paragraph gives the distribution of cottage as against factory workers in each order of Industry. We can compare the main variations since 1921, always remembering in regard to cottage workers that the figures of the two censuses do not exactly correspond. The factory workers will be dealt with presently, but the increase in cottage workers is largely discounted by the fact that their number now includes working dependents, who were not shown as workers in 1921. Generally the conclusion is indubitable that cottage workers have not progressed at all. The male earners (amongst the home working) now number 70,624, while the male cottage workers in 1921 totalled 68,869; thus there is an increase of only 2.2 per cent. This rate of variation may be accepted as real for the whole range of cottage industries.

Name of Industry	Cottage workers		Factory workers	
	1931	1921	1931	1921
All Industries	*107,337*	*93,380*	*22,323*	*11,225*
Cotton manufacture	18,552	16,623	17,524	8,130
Dyeing	1,569	1,333	1,028	691
Chemical Products	2,839	3,832	1,442	207
Building Industries	5,531	6,116	641	143
Other Industries	78,846	65,476	1,688	2,048

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275. The Industrial Return—The number of factory workers in 1931 is 22,323; these were working in 233 factories which furnished returns out of the total of 275 industrial establishments. The following Table sets out the main facts regarding the industrial concerns in the State. A diagram is also attached illustrating the strength of factory operatives in each kind of industry :—

Serial Number	Industry	Number of establishments registered	Number of establishments furnishing returns	Total persons engaged			Directional Supervising and Clerical staff		Welfare staff		Operatives	
				Persons	Males	Females	Indian	Other	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	All Industries ..	**275**	**233**	**22,323**	**18,025**	**4,298**	**2,074**	**43**	**75**	**4**	**15,833**	**4,294**
1	Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories ..	146	117	8,088	5,783	2,305	932	34	..	..	4,817	2,305
2	Cotton Weaving and Spinning Mills ..	8	8	5,883	5,222	661	317	..	39	1	4,866	660
3	Cotton Spinning Mills ..	6	6	3,158	2,532	626	296	..	31	3	2,205	623
4	Woollen Mill	1	1	359	326	33	23	..	..	..	303	33
5	Cotton and Silk Weaving Factories	3	3	36	35	1	11	..	..	..	24	1
6	Dyeing Factories ..	3	3	1,028	1,027	1	74	..	2	..	951	1
7	Iron Factory	1	1	29	29	..	1	..	..	..	28	..
8	Brick and Tiles Factories	6	6	366	249	117	28	4	..	..	217	117
9	Kalabhavan Workshop	1	1	38	37	1	5	..	..	..	32	1
10	Railway Workshop ..	1	1	357	356	1	19	1	..	..	336	1
11	Stone Quarry Works ..	1	1	370	265	105	27	..	1	..	237	105
12	Match Factory	1	1	466	351	115	17	1	..	..	333	115
13	Chemical Drugs Works	3	2	170	159	11	44	..	..	..	115	11
14	Oil Mills	14	7	102	93	9	17	..	..	..	76	9
15	Soap Candle Works ..	2	2	30	29	1	9	..	..	..	20	1
16	Chocolate Factory ..	1	1	8	6	2	1	..	..	..	5	2
17	Flour Mills	19	19	71	68	3	17	..	..	..	51	3
18	Distilleries	2	2	85	58	27	20	..	..	..	38	27
19	Water Works	3	2	14	11	3	..	..	..	..	11	3
20	Sugar Factory	1	1	101	91	10	32	1	..	..	58	10
21	Candied Sugar Manufacturing Factory ..	1	1	7	7	..	3	..	..	..	4	...
22	Salt Works	1	1	568	313	255	25	..	..	..	288	255
23	Cement Works	1	1	271	267	4	23	2	2	..	240	4
24	Electric Works	5	3	295	299	5	56	..	..	..	133	6
25	Ice Factories	3	1	19	19	..	4	..	..	..	15	..
26	Printing Presses ..	41	41	493	492	1	62	..	..	..	430	1

NOTE :—Of the above total of registered establishments, so many as 42 establishments did not furnish returns, presumably because most of these were not working on the Census day.

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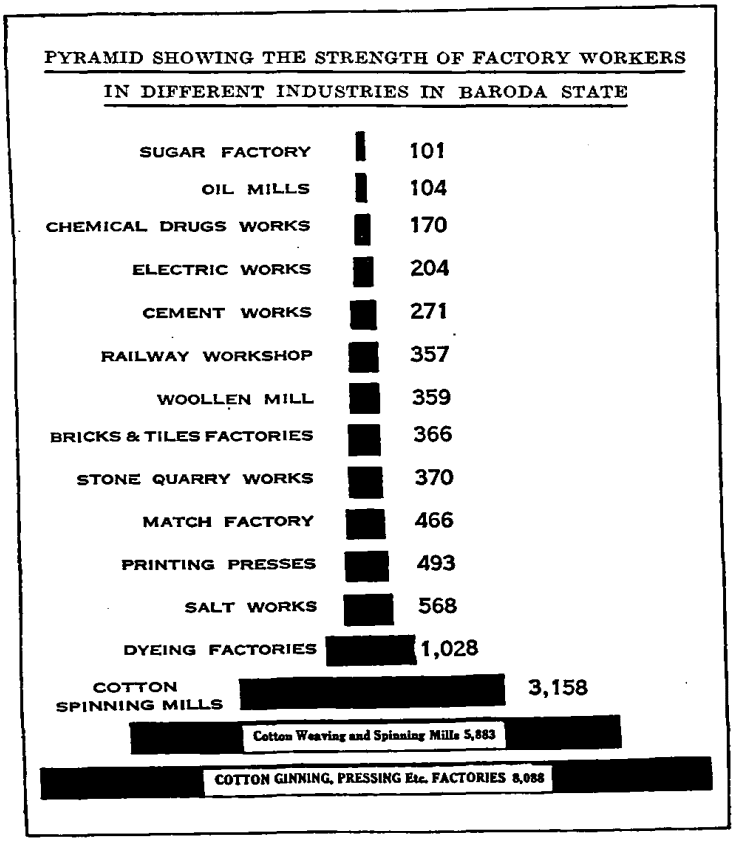
276. Distribution of Factories by Division—The following Table shows how the industrial establishments are distributed in the different divisions :—

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF FACTORIES IN BARODA STATE

KIND OF FACTORY	Total State		Central Gujarat Including City		North Gujarat		South Gujarat		Kathiawad	
	Total	Included in the special return	Total	Included in the special return	Total	Included in the special return	Total	Included in the special return	Total	Included in the special return
Cotton Weaving and Spinning Mills	8	8	4	4	2	2	2	2	..	..
Gins and Presses (including Cotton Presses)	146	117	71	55	32	28	23	15	20	19
Dyeing Factories	3	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Flour Mills	19	19	13	13	..	..	5	5	1	1
Oil Mills	14	7	5	2	2	2	5	2	2	1
Chemical Works	3	2	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ice Factories	3	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
Printing Presses	41	41	28	28	8	8	5	5	..	..
Miscellaneous	38	35	16	14	7	6	11	11	4	4
TOTAL	275	233	145	122	51	46	52	40	27	25



More than half of the factories included in the special return are concentrated in Central Gujarat, the City alone having 43. The largest number of concerns are connected with the cotton industry. Printing Presses form rather less than a sixth of the total on the register, about half of these being in the City. Flour and Oil mills are the next two important items in the list. Dyeing factories are confined to Central Gujarat (in Petlad town and Baroda City). Under "miscellaneous" are included public and state concerns like the water works, the Kalabhavan (Technical Institute) workshops, the Electric works and the Railway works.

277. Analysis of the Industrial Return*—In 1921, only 161 industrial concerns were recorded in the census. In 1931, the number has increased to 275. The number of persons employed in the 233 factories furnishing returns was 22,323 (including 4,298 females). The directional, supervising and clerical staff totalled 2,117 or nearly one-tenth of the factory population. Non-Indians numbered 43 amongst these as against only 4 in 1921. The welfare staff of 79 persons (including

*I am indebted for this paragraph to a note kindly supplied by the Director of Commerce and Industries of the State.

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4 females) were mostly confined to the cotton weaving and spinning mills. The industrial expansion foreshadowed rather optimistically in the last Census Report (para 55) has indeed continued, but not to the same extent to which the boom period would have led one to expect. In the aftermath that followed, projects that were conceived on a large scale had to be abandoned, or else curtailed,—some failed owing to want of proper management and some did not go beyond the initial stages. This was evidenced by the shrinking of the nominal capital of joint stock concerns from about 8 crores in 1921 to 7 crores at the end of the decade, thereby showing that some old projects had to go into liquidation and were afterwards reconstructed. The amount of paid-up capital, however, increased from Rs. 151 lacs to Rs. 311 lacs in ten years. The increase in the number and strength of industrial concerns has been mainly in the direction of the textile trade, but on the whole, the Industrial return of 1931 has a wider variety than that of 1921. Various small industries, however, which could not be listed in 1921 by reason of their size, did not, for the same reason, find a place in the latest return, although on the present occasion we did not specifically exclude industries employing less than 10 workers. Apart from textiles, the extension of power is most strikingly illustrated by the increase in the population served by electricity which is now 180,571 having grown from 94,712 in 1921. The number of kilowatts registered in 1931 was 2,581 against only 700 ten years ago. A third index of industrial expansion is seen in the increase of factory workers from 12,000 to over 22,000. Okha Salt Works is the most individual achievement of the industrial history of the decade, and its possibilities have been recognised by the Government of India. The mainstay however has been in the cotton industry in which the spindles have increased from 53,428 to 230,416, and the number of looms from 722 to 3,382. Petlad and Navsari have now become important mill centres, Kalol and Kadi enterprises are now under reconstruction, and Bilimora retains its position as a centre for oil milling. Generally the cottage industries and handicrafts have suffered a further set-back owing to competition from organised industries. This has been so in spite of the fact that the pendulum of popular favour has swung towards hand-made and home-spun enterprises. Recently surveys in two different areas showed that this industry was languishing. Hand-spinning was kept alive through the urge of political stimuli, but the results achieved so far do not point to any lasting progress in this direction.

278. Trade—Coming to Trade, we see that out of 67,065 workers nearly one tenth are found in the City although its population is even less than 5 per cent of the State. The workers in this class are mainly concerned with industries of exchange. As pointed out in 1921, the differentiation between preparation of material substances and their exchange does not largely obtain in India. Further in rural areas and even in towns also of the average size, we find that shopkeepers do not specialise in any one commodity. "Oil sellers will also deal in grain. Money lenders sometimes vary their pleasant transactions with dealing in piece-goods." The miscellaneous store of the *maniara* persists as a feature of the countryside. It is therefore difficult to attempt any detailed analysis. The margin collects the principal groups of trade and commerce, distributes them proportionately to all workers in trade, and considers the variation of the strength of earners in each as compared to the corresponding figures of workers in 1921. The number of working dependents has been omitted in the comparison, as it is presumed that very probably they were not included amongst workers ten years ago, so that the basis of the figures is made to approximate as far as possible. The general increase of workers in this branch would seem to be more than the increase in the population, and that would appear to be a real variation. As we have seen while discussing variations in the occupations of English literates, trade has begun to oust public services from the first place as their favourite occupation. The increase amongst bankers is a contrast to their decline registered in 1921. That decline was explained by the spread of the co-operative movement in the State. This movement has gone on expanding since, but what

Class of Trade	Number of earners and working dependents	Proportion per 1,000 engaged in trade	Variation of earners from number of workers in 1921 (per cent)
All Trades	**67,065**	**1,000**	**+ 17.5**
Bankers, Money-lenders, etc.	6,417	96	+ 19.0
Traders in Textiles ..	5,877	88	+ 22.0
Grain and Pulse dealers ..	13,180	197	+ 12.5
Sweetmeat, etc. dealers ..	13,595	203	+ 32.8
Dealers in tobacco, opium and *ganja*	3,339	50	+ 160.0
Other traders	24,657	366	+ 17.0

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has happened appears to be this: the indigenous money-lending class with its local organisation of credit has begun to capture to some extent the co-operative movement in many places by allying themselves with co-operative societies, apex banks and agricultural banks. On the other hand the tendency for the large scale farmer to try his fortunes as a money lender has also increased of recent years. Grain dealers increased by 27 per cent in 1921 and only 12 per cent in this census. Possibly the fluctuations are in a large measure due to the whim of individuals about returning their subsidiary occupations. Moneylending and dealing in grain often coalesce themselves in one and the same person in most villages; and a money lender may call himself such in one census and a grain dealer in the next. The two combined give 14.6 per cent as the rate of increase, which may be regarded as the true variation for either. The large increase under trade in textiles is partly due to a rise in indigenous cloth shops but also because of the fact that the census return often confuses between the maker and the seller of cloth. The variations amongst cottage workers in textiles are in part governed by this latter cause.

279. Public Force and Administration—The Public Force includes Imperial and State forces, the police and the village watchmen. Public Administration includes persons in the general service of this State, British India and other states, including municipal and village servants, but excluding persons employed in technical and professional services, such as surveyors, engineers, doctors and teachers. A special group under this sub-class (Group 152/1) was opened for this census, for the Ruler of the State, as it had the honour of counting His Highness the Maharaja. As these sub-classes do not usually admit of working dependency, it is possible to make useful comparisons from census to census. The figures in the margin show the variation under main heads of workers since 1911. The British Indian regiment at the Camp accounts for the item of Imperial Army in the returns. In 1921, the old regiments were under orders of transfer and most of them had left Baroda when the census was taken. In 1931, they were not in their full strength. The State Army shows a decline of 27 per cent since 1911, on account of the policy of reducing effectives which has been pursued since that date. The police has increased since 1921, both in efficiency and personnel. The figure under general administration of the State shows a large decrease which is continuous since 1911. The policy of His Highness's Government has been to retrench in the number entertained in the service, while increasing their pay and prospects.

Group	Earners	Variation per cent since	
		1921	1911
Total	**26,379**	+ **3.9**	— **0.1**
Imperial Army ..	541	+ 621.3	— 29.7
State Forces	3,615	— 10.0	— 27.0
Police	4,544	+ 13.6	+ 14.0
Service of the State ..	8,845	— 18.6	— 25.3
Other service ..	8,834	+ 37.2	+ 81.9

280. Caste and Qualifications of the Servants of the State—The distribution of earners by caste in the public force and administration discloses an interesting state of affairs. Imperial Table XI-B gives the details. The gazetted officers of the State Army are almost entirely limited to Marathas (30) and Muslims (6). The sepoys are recruited mostly from Marathas (1,060), Muslims (500), Brahmans from Upper India (428), and Rajputs (314). In the police, the officers are not differentiated from the men in the table. The force relies largely on Muslims (1,229), Brahmans (488), Rajputs (481), and Marathas (302). In the general service of the State, the different castes represented in the gazetted

Caste	No. of gazetted officers in the civil administration in		
	1931	1921	1911
Brahman	95	231	416
Lewa Patidar ..	50	89	53
Maratha	42	72	53
Rajput	9	27	11
Vania	37	74	42
Muslim	25	94	27
Indian Christian ..	1	8	..
Parsi	4	12	17
European and Anglo-Indian.	8	12	12

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ranks are shown in the margin for the last three censuses. The term "Gazetted officer" is apt to be interpreted differently. In 1911 any "amaldar" dispensing authority was deemed a gazetted officer. In 1921 and still more in 1931, the term was restricted to officers of the status of a *mahalkari* or thereabouts. Brahmans and Patidars still retain their pre-eminence in this line while Marathas and Vanias are advancing in usefulness in the service. Amongst Brahmans, the Deccani speaking section however has largely decreased. Out of the employés of the State in all branches, including the technical and professional departments, 719 are graduates, 1,521 have qualifications between the matriculation and the degree, and 1,555 are non-matriculates, but knowing English. The others are only vernacular knowing hands: particularly is this the case with the subordinate staff in the Police and the Army, and the vernacular school teachers in the Education department. The chief departments are shown in the margin. The largest proportion of graduates is in the Central administration and Judicial department. Within recent years graduates have multiplied in the service with resulting improvement in the tone and efficiency of the administration.

Department	Strength of establishment	Graduates	Other English knowing hands	Only Vernacular knowing hands
Education	6,861	271	470	6,120
Army	3,718	6	47	3,665
Police	4,528	9	284	4,235
Railways	2,281	18	401	1,862
Revenue	1,938	97	321	1,520
Judicial	437	68	356	13
Accounts	318	28	225	65
Central Administration	154	49	88	17
Public Works ..	231	47	184	..
Khangi (Household department) ..	190	16	95	79
Medical	339	32	307	..
Development departments	457	54	177	226

281. Professions and Liberal Arts—In dealing with Sub-class VIII, we are confronted with a bewildering range of occupations. From artists to buffoons this sub-class covers an amazing company of people. Here architects and authors jostle with mountebanks and circumcisers, while bishops and High Court judges have to look askance at grave diggers and worm extractors: altogether 5 orders and 22 groups are comprised under this head. The principal groups are summarised in the margin. The total is practically unchanged since 1921, but the individual groups show marked fluctuations. Religious mendicants have increased by almost as much as other religious workers have declined. Priests and ministers are no longer the favourites that they were formerly but their number cannot be so few as the census record shows it: it is even less than one sixth of the figure shown in 1921. Many persons having shown *yajmanvriti* (practice of keeping disciples) are apt to be wrongly compiled as religious mendicants. The total under religion shows continuous decrease

Kind	Number of earners and working dependents	Proportion per 1,000 engaged in Sub-class VIII	Variation since 1921
Total	29,439	1,000	+ 9.8
Religious Mendicants, etc.	10,317	350	+ 46.4
Other Religious workers..	5,062	172	— 56.3
Lawyers and their clerks, etc.	877	29	+ 63.3
Doctors and Dentists ..	968	33	+ 12.7
Nurses, Midwives, etc. ..	638	22	+ 67.5
Professors, teachers, etc ..	8,667	295	+ 55.1
Musicians, actors, dancers, etc.	1,317	45	— 29.0
Architects, Engineers, Authors, Artists, Astrologers, Journalists, etc...	512	17	— 49.5
Rest	1,081	37	+ 69.0

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however since 1911 when workers under this head numbered 24,890. Particular care was on this occasion enjoined on the census staff to differentiate between religious mendicancy proper and ordinary beggary. Amongst religious mendicants, a distinction was also made between the ordinary vagrant *sadhu* or *fakir* and the well-nourished variety who resided in *maths* or other monastic abodes. These latter were little distinguished from the religious priest or minister, except that they were *dharmagurus* while the priest officiated in domestic ceremonials and performed the rites at temples. As to other groups lawyers have largely increased. The City Bar is now crowded and young pleaders find few openings and welcome chances elsewhere. The increase in nurses and midwives is due to the large extension in medical and maternity relief to women in many towns of the Raj. Teachers show a large increase. The programme of consolidation of rural primary schools by strengthening their staffs, the increase in the number of schools and facilities for private teaching account for the growth of the teaching profession in the State. The increase in the district inspectional staff of the Education department is also a contributory factor to the variation under this head. Architects, engineers, authors, etc., have declined. But this may be due more to the caprice of the census record than to anything else. Authors and journalists may have described themselves under other names and are compiled according to what they have described. Many more modest—born to blush unseen—may be concealing themselves under " Insufficiently described occupations." But as we shall see in the Chapter on Language, there has been a real decline in literary pursuits. Perhaps because of economic depression, the production of books has ceased to be profitable.

282. Other occupations—The other sub-classes and groups do not call for much detailed treatment. Transport workers have increased from 11,291 by 40.5 per cent to 15,863. Owners and managers of mechanically driven vehicles show a large increase as the motor cars have multiplied from practically nothing to 860 (including nearly 400 cars in the City alone) in the last ten years. As the road programme is being gradually given effect to, motor buses will cover the countryside and prove a serious rival to the train service. Persons living on their income who number 5,905, have increased by 37 per cent but this fact by itself is no index of increasing wealth as under this class are included people who can hardly be described except with a stretch of imagination as " living on their own income." Miscellaneous " *ashrits* " (living on the charity of temples or noblemen), scholarship holders, retired public servants, mission pensioners and such like who are far from rolling in wealth, come into this category. Insufficiently described occupations form only 5.4 per cent of the working population against 7 in 1921 and 8 in 1911. The less the proportion in this respect the better is the record. The occupation census of 1931 may therefore claim to be an improvement, though only slight, on its predecessors. The last point to be noted in our general review of employments is about " Unproductive." Beggars and vagrants have been compiled separately from disreputable occupations since 1921, as it is important to know how far the problem of vagrancy is being met by public effort and a change in social attitude. There is less danger now of religious mendicants being confused with the ordinary beggar, as the census instructions are easily intelligible and the real social distinction between the two classes is well appreciated. Beggars and vagrants show a decline from 4,865 workers in 1921 to 4,223 earners in 1931. It is difficult to imagine working dependency for this class of earner. The decline in figures is real because beggary has ceased to be profitable. Owing to lean years and economic stress, the wells of private charity are drying up. A slight change in the classification which took witches and wizards to the respectable company of letters and arts may have affected the figures also. Inmates of jails and asylums number slightly less but the point to note about them is that unlike previous censuses they are now regarded not as workers or earners but as working dependents if they are under sentence of hard labour, or as non-working dependents if they are merely undertrials or sentenced to simple imprisonment. Lastly prostitutes number 55 only as against 74 ten years back. The record here is defective as many are returned as musicians under Letters, Sciences and Arts and a good few escape record under the more respectable title of dressmakers, midwives or domestic

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servants. The peculiar social conditions of Gujarat compel vice to take clandestine forms and the census cannot measure the real extent of this evil.

§ 5. Economic Condition

283. Conspectus of Occupational Distribution—A general review such as this of occupations must include some reference to main facts which bear on the economic condition of the people. In earlier chapters we have at various stages attempted to see how far the facts of economic relations and the standards of life have a bearing on the population growth. Changes in social habits reacting on earning power and on standards of comfort are closely connected with occupational distribution and the grades of work which divide the people horizontally have different results on the size and expansiveness of incomes. Thus a person with a fixed income has less scope for mental and physical activity in the production of wealth than one in another walk of life in which his earnings depend vitally on his intelligence and the amount of physical and mental energy that he is able to give. Thus the problem of economic providence is vitally connected with a form of occupational distribution in which the highest energies are brought into play. It is notorious that "a population on the margin of life engaged in occupations that demand considerable physical but little mental or nervous energy increases at a greater ratio than population in the higher strata of society." We have had the truth of this strikingly exemplified in the differing ratios of progress in sections that are divided from one another by as wide a chasm as educational equipment can bring about. The first point to get hold of in a survey, even so brief as this, of economic competence of the people is to have a general conspectus of occupational divisions in which variations in earning power are typified in the different grades. Thus the agrestic labourers and general low grade labour would show a very high rate of increase, had it not been for the fact that sections of them have moved up to the class of cultivating owner or tenant. Trade shows a large increase because of recruits from other classes. Fixed wage earners on whom the vicissitudes of the times deal their hardest blows show a small increase, particularly as the scope for such employments has diminished with the stress of times. These disturbing factors which it is difficult to isolate coupled with disconcerting changes in the occupational scheme brought about from census to census occlude the operation of true causes from our view; but on the whole the proportions above adumbrated appear to be broadly true. As we shall see in the Chapter on Caste, the true agriculturists grow at a much slower rate than the labouring groups, the classes with assured economic competence have large families, while the lowest grades are fertile, thriftless and lavish in their waste of life.*

Group	Rate per cent of increase since 1921
Advanced	11.4
Intermediate	13.6
Illiterate	22.2

Grade of Occupation	Earners and working dependents	Proportion per mille
I. Agriculturists with stake in land	617,375	510
II. Agrestic labourers ..	200,304	166
III. General and other low grade labour including scavenging, mendicancy and unproductive occupations ..	96,858	80
IV. Industrial workers including transport and exploitation of animals, etc.	1,70,665	141
V. Fixed wage-earners ..	42,000	35
VI. Traders	67,716	55
VII. Professional workers and living on own income.	15,557	13

* For details of how the marginal table in this paragraph is prepared, the reader must refer to para 472 of my Report of 1921. Briefly Groups 2, 3, 4, 17, 103, 105, 112, 114, 183, 189, Sub-classes V and VI and Order 48 go to form Fixed Wage-earners. The other classes are obvious.

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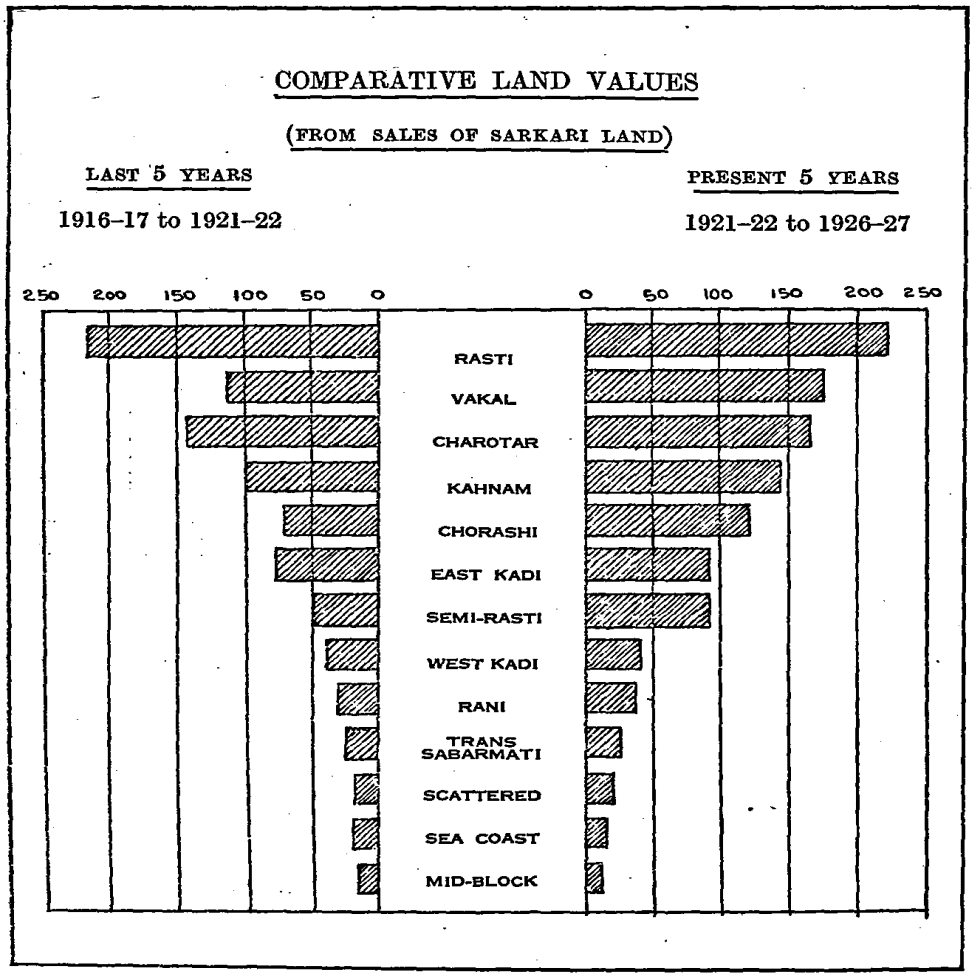
284. Value of Agricultural Land—The changes in land values are a most essential index of the economic competence of a people. The marginal diagram is plotted giving



comparative data of land values in the thirteen natural areas in two five-year periods. Land values have markedly increased in Central Gujarat, while in other divisions they have practically remained stationary. Correlating these facts with density we find the closest correspondence in the two sets of variables.

Natural Division	Order according to	
	Land values	Density on cultivable area
Rasti	1	2
Vakal	2	3
Charotar	3	1
Kahnam	4	5
Chorashi	5	6
East Kadi	6	4
Semi-Rasti	6	8
West Kadi	7	7
Rani	8	9
Trans-Sabarmati ..	9	10
Scattered Area ..	10	13
Sea Coast	11	11
Mid-Block	12	12

285. Size of Holdings—Even more than land values, the variations in the size of agricultural holdings have an important bearing on the wealth of the people. The marginal table shows the variations in the size of holdings, compared with population changes since 1910. As every holding corresponds to a normal family of one worker and two dependents, the rate of increase in its number should be at most one-third of the population growth. Instead, the smallest and the most uneconomic class of holdings shows the greatest rate of increase. The second largest class of holdings (between 100 and 500 bighas) shows the next highest rate of growth. At one end the cultivating class is receiving recruits from a thriftless and improvident

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set of workers, coming up from low grade labour and aspiring to peasant proprietorship. At the other, a non-cultivating type of speculative capitalists is increasingly investing in land. The former would tend to keep the level of agricultural wages low, while the latter's inexperience would leave him at the mercy of rent-paying agriculturists who would dictate terms in the matter of rent leases and get them. At the same time the agriculturist class is ceasing to be of the true cultivating kind, through modern influences. As he becomes richer and more educated he begins to despise manual toil and his women kind, as in Charotar, are imitating the ways of Brahmans and Vanias by not sharing in the labour of cultivation.

Size of Holdings	Variations in size with 1910 as 100 (A Bigha=3/5 of an Acre)		
	1910	1920	1930
Below 5 bighas	100	107	120
Between 5 and 25 bighas..	100	108	115
Between 25 and 100 bighas	100	104	112
Between 100 and 500 bighas	100	104	119
500 bighas and above ..	100	125	99
Corresponding Population changes	100	104.6	120·2

286. Wage Levels—As indicated above, the result of the incursion of labouring classes into the ranks of cultivators indirectly led to a contraction in the level of wages for agrestic labour. In 1920, as a short period effect of the war, labour got its own terms for the asking. Since then, the increase of population has led to lowered standards of living. The shifting of cultivation to marginal areas, the contraction in the produce and value of luxury crops, the lower efficiency of the new type of agriculturists, the impact of lean years—all these have helped to depress the level of wages. In other grades of labour, railway porters and the like are not getting any enhanced value for their toil. The increase of railway porters and other labourers on railway construction and maintenance from 1,299 to 4,263 has helped also to diminish their individual earnings. The very low level in railway porters' wages in South Gujarat is due to the fact that women from the Raniparaj classes predominate there in this line of work. They are content to remain on the very margin of life and have no prospect or desire of bettering their condition. The rate of growth is very large in this class of worker and it is very tragic to think of this, especially when we remember that the wages have remained practically stationary for the last 15 to 20 years.

Division	Agricultural wage-levels (Daily wages in Annas)			Index in 1930 as compared to 1920 as 100
	Average in 1916	Average in 1920	Average in 1930	
Central Gujarat ..	8	14.6	10	67
North Gujarat ..	6	10.7	9.5	86
South Gujarat ..	7	9.3	8	89
Kathiawad	6	10	7.85	79

Division	Daily wages (in annas) of	
	Porters	Others
Central Gujarat ..	7	8
North Gujarat ..	7	8
South Gujarat ..	3	6
Kathiawad	7·9	7.9

287. Index of Industrial Wages—Coming from the labouring groups to the field of industrial wages, we find here also a lowering of levels since 1921 and a tendency to return to the pre-war norm. The earnings of artisans are usually the lowest in Kathiawad and there the variations have been the least disturbing relatively to other parts. The variation in the daily income of three typical classes of artisans as compared to 1920 are instructive. The blacksmiths have practically come down to the pre-war level of their earning power.

Division	Mean Rupee wages (daily) of					
	Carpenter		Blacksmith		Bricklayer	
	1930	Index number as compared to 1920	1930	Index number as compared to 1920	1930	Index number as compared to 1920
Central Gujarat	1–10–0	81	1– 1–0	53	1– 4–0	77
North Gujarat	1–11–0	75	1– 5–0	87	1– 7–0	77
South Gujarat	1–7 –0	77	1– 7–0	64	1– 6–0	79
Kathiawad	1–2 –0	75	1– 1–6	73	1– 1–6	97

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288. Cost of Living—Having regard to the scale of wages shown, it is necessary to have a rough idea of the cost of living. The census agency cannot be utilised for the purpose of enquiring into the family budgets of typical sections of the people, for the Act itself which is the legal basis of the organisation prevents the staff from enquiring into a person's income and expenditure. But statistical material is now available through the Commerce department, and the Board of Economic Enquiries recently established has at hand a series of studies by revenue and other officers which if collated and revised properly will yield valuable results. The material collected by the Commerce department's enquiry into the economic condition of a typical Charotar village* is of great interest as throwing light on the varying standards of life. It is estimated that between Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 are required to keep an average family of four persons (two adults) alive on the minimum standard of subsistence. Here again we must distinguish between the standards of food obtaining in Charotar and those prevalent for instance in the Rani area. 6 lbs. of grains daily would be required costing from Rs. 120 to 135 in the year. In the Rani area, the coarsest of grains are eaten and only Rs. 80 will be the cost of such. Rice is disappearing as an article of diet rapidly from the family budget. Ghee, *gur* (molasses), sugar and condiments consume another Rs. 60 to 80. Fuel and light absorb another Rs. 10; with clothes and shoes (Rs. 40), house repairs, etc. (Rs. 10), ceremonials and festivities (Rs. 15) and other miscellaneous items (Rs. 10 to Rs. 20), the budget works up from Rs. 265 to Rs. 310 per year. In rural areas house-rent rarely enters as an item in the budget. The following three representative budgets may be of interest. They are taken from the Bhadkad Economic Enquiry papers:—

Type I		Type II		Type III	
Patidar : 3 persons Income Rs. 1,670 per year		Dharala : 4 adults 2 children Income Rs. 561 per year		Dhed : 2 adults and 4 children Income Rs. 281 per year	
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Food	308	Food	272	Food	198
Clothing, etc.	100	Clothing, etc.	80	Clothes, etc.	60
House, light, fuel	64	House, light, fuel	20	House, light, fuel	9
Ceremonials, etc.	150	Ceremonials, etc.	15	Ceremonials, etc.	10
Miscellaneous including Education	30	Miscellaneous including Education	15	Luxuries including tobacco	3
Cost of keeping horse with interest on loan	300				
	952		402		280

The above items are only confined to cost of living. They do not of course comprise the cost of production on which the income is derived. The income figures quoted above for each type selected are the net sum realised after meeting the normal cost of running a farm for the Patidar or the upkeep of the buffalo from which the Dharala derives his income on milk and *ghee*. Food absorbs from 71.4 per cent in Type III and 67.7 per cent in Type II to only 32.4 in the highest class, of the total expenditure. Luxuries (including ceremonials, the item of the horse and miscellaneous) form just half the expense of the Patidar family, while they are merely 7.4 per cent of the Dharala's and 4.6 of the Dhed's cost of living. The second class would appear just to make two ends meet while the third lives on the barest margin of existence.

289. Agricultural Incomes—The above figures would seem to indicate that an agricultural income of Rs. 750 is the limit below which standards of comfort cannot exist under present day conditions. What size of holding will suffice for this purpose? It is difficult to answer this question for the official records of the income from gross outturn of crops are wild guesses which have no relation to facts. The yearly anna valuation of crops is only a very rough approximation. The actual yield data in maunds and the prices current are still rougher, and the calculations made thereon for the latest year available are so full of mistakes that I have decided to reject them as valueless. Besides these, there are only a few other indications that help us to form some idea. From the sub-letting values of land it is possible to hold that the State revenue demand ranges from about 13 to 21 per cent of the gross profits of the agriculturists. The sub-letting value in Central Gujarat comes to about 3.5 times that of the assessment. In South Gujarat, it is 2.8 times. In North Gujarat, the revenue demand is a little more than 10 per cent of the gross produce. The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee recommended 25 per cent of the annual net value for fixing assessments. From these general considerations, it is possible to hold that a holding of the size of 30 acres (50 bighas) ought to yield a net income

* *Economic Enquiry into Bhadkad village*, by the State Commerce department. *Vide* also Dr. Mehta's *Rural Economy of Gujarat*, p. 216, *et seq.*

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of Rs. 750 per annum on an average to the farmer. Dr. J. M. Mehta* estimated on the basis of figures about 1922-24 that an acre in a Charotar village ought to yield a profit of Rs. 25. Taking into account the shrinkage in prices of crops as well as deterioration in the standards of farming, since that time, we put a lower figure of Rs. 18.75 as a fair margin of profit per acre in the present day. On this basis we make the marginal calculations, which give a net income of 12.40 crores as the profits of the non-cultivating and cultivating owners, after paying the land revenue and the cost of production. In 1920, the profits of agriculture were larger. Calculating on the basis of Rs. 20 per bigha, we estimate an income of Rs. 15.37 crores for landlords and cultivating owners for that year. The net income per earner of this class was Rs. 498. We have now to calculate similarly for cultivating tenants and agrestic labourers. Now there are 62,123 cultivating tenants. The bulk of these work on the crop sharing basis which is more profitable to them than the leasing system, but even if the calculation is made on the basis of the rent leases, we can get a fair idea by adopting the sub-letting values of land as above shown. The average sub-letting value is about three times the assessment. The average revenue demand comes to Rs. 1.72 per bigha of occupied area. Now the tenant comes in only in holdings of large sizes, averaging at 50 bighas and over. Thus out of 6.68 million bighas of occupied area, the area of the holdings of this size and over comes to 5.27 million bighas. The sub-letting values come to 272 lakhs of rupees annually. Making allowances for enhanced profits on the crop sharing basis, an estimate of Rs. 280 lakhs as the gross earnings of the tenant class is arrived at. Deducting cost of labour, etc., they are left with Rs. 200 lakhs as net profits which work out at Rs. 322 per earner of this class. For 1921, the sub-letting value should be fixed at 2.5 times and a larger deduction on account of wages of labour, etc., should have to be made. Calculating on these lines, our estimates of income for cultivating tenants in 1920 is 153.7 lakhs of rupees. Coming to agricultural labourers on the basis of the wage index in 1930 shown in para 286 above, we calculate the annual income of an agricultural labourer for 160 working days to be Rs. 97.8 in Central Gujarat, Rs. 92 in North Gujarat, Rs. 79 in Kathiawad and Rs. 82.8 in South Gujarat. In 1921, the corresponding figures of income were Rs. 146, 107, 100 and 93 respectively in the four divisions above named. Thus the net income per labourer has shrunk from Rs. 113.5 to only Rs. 80 in 1931. The census figure for 1921 has been condemned as inadequate in para 268 above; if the real number is greater, the shrinkage in the volume of wages of agricultural labour is even more.

Number of holdings	Average size in bighas	Income of class in lakhs of rupees	Income per khatedar in rupees
106,484	1.66	26.6	25
167,022	15	375.8	225
75,743	50	568.1	750
7,845	300	231.8	2,955
355	750	37.7	11,250
All Holdings ..	**18.7**	**1,240.0**	**347**

Division	Gross Income in lakhs of rupees according to wage level index in	
	1920	1930
Central Gujarat..	82.8	55.5
North Gujarat ..	43.4	37.3
South Gujarat ..	61.7	54.9
Kathiawad ..	15.6	12.3
State ..	**203.5**	**160.0**

290. Variation in Agricultural Incomes since 1921—The estimates of income for the two censuses are now collected for ready reference. They are based on the census returns of workers in 1921 and earners in 1931: the basis of figures is thus not the same in both cases. Even agricultural labourers cannot afford a satisfactory basis of comparison, as the accuracy of their census figures in 1921 is doubted. The cultivating classes in 1921 must have included, as pointed out already, under workers who are now working dependents; therefore the real income per head of earner in 1921 must be even more than the estimate above shown. To that extent the comparative estimates per worker in each class in the two censuses have to be modified. But such as they are, they are worth considering. On the whole the figures show a general shrinkage in the return from land. The annual income of all kinds of workers engaged in agriculture amounted to Rs. 16 crores in 1931 as against Rs. 18.95 crores ten years ago.

Class	Income per individual worker in	
	1920 (Workers)	1930 (Earners)
Landlords and cultivating owners ..	469	347
Cultivating tenant ..	488	322
Agrestic Labour . ..	113.5	80
Total per head ..	**347**	**265**

*Vide his *Rural Economy of Gujarat*, page 216.

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291. Non-Agricultural Incomes : Income-Tax Assessees—Turning to non-agricultural incomes, we divide them into two broad groups—those who pay income-tax and those who are below the taxable minimum of Rs. 750 per annum. The income-tax payers are the most important group economically in the whole State population, as the marginal table shows. The bulk of them are in trade and commerce. A few are large owners of property. Others are industrialists and not an inconsiderable proportion belongs to the learned professions. Since 1910, the number of assessees has nearly quadrupled. The organisation of a special income-tax staff has enabled the State to cast its nets wide so that very few now may be said to have escaped paying their due. The class of 1,000-2,500 appears to have multiplied by nearly five times in 20 years. The next class has increased by nearly fourteen times. In 1921, the income of these assessees was calculated (allowing for wilful concealment) to be Rs. 152.68 lakhs. In 1931 the factor of wilful concealment is practically eliminated; from the actual assessment figures by class, the income of these 19,340 earners is stated to be Rs. 357.1 lakhs. Adding a round 10 lakhs for omissions, we get Rs. 367 lakhs as being the real income of non-agriculturists above the taxable level. Besides, the Government servants assessed to income tax number 2,241. Their total in 1920 was 1,726 with an income of 31.65 lakhs.

Size of Income in Rupees	Number of Income-tax Assessees (Government servants excluded) in		
	1910	1920	1930
750–1,000	2,780	4,613	7,421
1,000–2,500	1,844	3,061	8,544
2,500–5,000	186	388	2,497
5,000–10,000	55	92	713
10,000–15,000	11	12	101
15,000–20,000	8	9	24
20,000 and over	4	14	40
Total ..	**4,788**	**8,189**	**19,340**

Government Servants		
Size of Income	Number assessed	Total income in lakhs
Total	**2,241**	**41.1**
750–1,000	915	5.2
1,000–2,500	921	13.2
2,500–5,000	261	8.6
5,000–10,000	110	7.0
10,000–15,000	13	1.5
15,000–20,000	13	2.4
20,000 and over	8	3.2

292. Non-Agriculturists below the Taxable Level—We now come to the remaining workers—non-agriculturists who are below the taxable level. These number 332,559 as against 311,644 in the previous census. They comprise the bulk of the government employees and other receivers of fixed income, the majority of the artisan groups and industrial workers and the whole of general class of non-agrestic labour. The government servants below the minimum pay of Rs. 750 yearly numbering about 18,000 in 1931 have an average income of Rs. 25 per month or Rs. 300 annually. The artisans and industrial workers numbering 170,000 have a rather lower average than this, *i.e.*, about Rs. 240 annually. The fixed wage earners, below the minimum, who are not government employees, number about 21,000. They should be credited with Rs. 20 or Rs. 240 per year. The general labouring class, 97,000, at 6 annas daily for 24 days in the month, should have an average Rs. 108 per year per worker. The total income for this class in 1931 should be Rs. 104·7 lakhs. The remainder, 26,500, are small traders, domestic servants, transport workers and the like. These should be credited with Rs. 200 annually Altogether these several classes on the above basis earn an annual income of Rs. 670 lakhs, according to the 1931 figures of earners. It is difficult to estimate the income of these groups in 1921. The rate of income of low grade labour has remained very much the same. The wages of artisans have declined but workers in organised industries now get more. Instead of Rs. 240 per worker under these heads, an income of Rs. 327 per worker is calculated on the figures available of industrial wages. Government employés are now paid much more but they number less than in 1921. The other fixed wage earners are at the same level as before : on these grounds, we can assume Rs. 200 to be the income per worker of both these sections of receivers of fixed incomes, who are below the taxable limit. Small traders and others earn a little more than they did in 1921. On these bases, the incomes of the various classes in 1921 may be calculated.

293. Total Income calculated per Head of Population—We have now come to the end of our calculation. Coming back to the general occupational conspectus, with which we started this discussion, we set out the complete results in the margin. The estimates suffer from many defects as the data are far from reliable, but it is hoped that the assumptions made are in accordance with generally accepted facts. The total incomes per class are based on the actual census returns of workers, but as the basis of comparison is not the same and the record itself is not accurate, the estimates themselves are only approaches to the truth. In that sense they may be accepted by the reader as tentative contributions to the problem of measurement of earning power. If they fail

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in exactness as indicative of the distribution and variation in the income levels of different sections of the people from census to census, they have at least the value of faithfully reproducing general tendencies in the economic life of the country.

Grade	Total income in lakhs of rupees			
	1931		1921	
	Total	Per head of earner	Total	Per head of worker
Agriculturists	1,240	347	1,537.8	469
Cultivating tenants with stake in land	200	322	153.7	488
Agrestic labour	160	80	203.5	113.5
General low grade labour ..	104.7	108	66.13	108
Industrial workers including arts and crafts	408	240	425	327
Fixed wage earners non-tax paying	104.4	268	104.0	200
Small traders, etc. non-tax paying	53.0	200	34.39	180
Non-Agriculturists paying Income-tax (i) Official ..	41.1	1,834	31.65	1,834
(ii) Non-official	367.0	1,898	152.68	1,864
Total Income	**2,678.2**	**276**	**2,708.85**	**312.9**
Income per head of population	**109.6**		**127.4**	

294. Summary of conclusions—It is time to close this review with a summary of the general conclusions. The occupational distribution does not disclose any marked feature of change in the social economy of the people since 1921. Agriculture still continues in its primacy of place in the occupational field, but with diminishing returns, deterioration in its standards and undoubted shrinkage in the actual earning power of its workers. The volume of labour does not seem to have increased much because many from its ranks have promoted themselves to farmers and cultivators; but the labouring classes (*i.e.* castes that contribute most to the workers in that grade) have exhibited the highest rate of growth: and yet these have actually less incomes per head than before. Their standards of living have been considerably lowered and their wage level now allows them only such food and raiment as are below even any reasonable conception of poverty. These form a little more than 12 per cent of earners. At the other end of the scale, 105, 504 persons—agriculturists and income tax payers with an average income of Rs. 750 and above, or only 4 per cent may be said to live above the minimum standards of material comfort. Between these two, the vast majority of workers (84 per cent) have incomes ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 750. There is thus a noticeable chasm between this middle section and the lower and higher groups. The general income per head of population is less than in 1921 but the diminution of agricultural incomes is serious and calls for earnest attention of administrators and publicists alike. It is this contraction in earning capacity in the bulk of the population that is at the root of the deepening unrest that has riddled the life of Gujarat in recent years. Whether these circumstances will continue and eventually lead to a reordering of occupational groups, the future alone will be able to tell. Industrial progress has been so far retarded by many causes some of which are too obvious to mention. Education has advanced in all classes, and in the next chapter we shall see on which sections of the population the energies of educational agencies should be concentrated in the immediate future: but how best the plan of education should be altered and developed, and what steps should be taken both by the Government and the people for improvement in social and economic efficiency it is not the province of this Report to show, for its function is the humbler one of pointing to the trend of sweeping forces.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

EARNERS (PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDENTS

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER	Number of earners (showing occupation as principal) and working dependents per 10,000 of total population	Number of earners showing occupation as subsidiary per 10,000 of total population
1	2	3
All Occupations [Earners (principal occupation) and Working Dependents]	**4,955**	**271**
A—Production of Raw Materials	**3,512**	**133**
I—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	*3,504*	*133*
1 Pasture and Agriculture	3,496	133
(a) Cultivation	3,342	114
(b) Special crops (cultivation of special crops, fruits, etc.)	8	1
(c) Forestry	9	9
(d) Stock raising	137	9
(e) Raising of insects, etc. (raising of small animals and insects)	....	....
2 Fishing and Hunting	8	....
II—Exploitation of Minerals	*8*	....
4 Non-metallic Minerals	8	....
B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	**870**	**74**
III—Industry	530	38
5 Textiles	158	9
6 Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	33	5
7 Wood	54	5
8 Metals	22	2
9 Ceramics	57	6
10 Chemical products, properly so called and analogous	18	1
11 Food industries	23	2
12 Industries of dress and toilet	91	5
13 Furniture industries	1	....
14 Building industries	25	2
15 Construction of means of transport	1	....
16 Production and transmission of physical force; (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.) gas works and electric light and power.	1	....
17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	46	1
IV—Transport	*65*	*6*
19 Transport by water	4	....
20 Transport by road	28	6
21 Transport by rail	29	....
22 Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services	4	....
V—Trade	*275*	*30*
23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance (bank managers, money-lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money changers and their brokers and their employés)	26	8
24 Brokerage commission and export (brokers' commission agents, commercial travellers, warehouse owners and employés)	3	1
25 Trade in textiles (trade in piece-goods, wool, cotton, silk, hair and other textiles)	24	2
26 Trade in skins, leather and furs (trade in skins, leather, furs, feathers, horn, etc., and the articles made from these)	1	....

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—*concld.*

EARNERS (PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDENTS

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER	Number of earners (showing occupation as principal) and working dependents per 10,000 of total population	Number of earners showing occupation as subsidiary per 10,000 of total population
1	2	3
27 Trade in wood	2	....
28 Trade in metals (trade in metals, machinery, knives, tools, etc.)	4	....
29 Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	....	....
30 Trade in chemical products (drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, etc.)	2	....
31 Hotels, cafés, restaurants, etc.	16	1
32 Other trade in foodstuffs	153	13
33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	1	....
34 Trade in furniture	2	....
35 Trade in building materials	2	....
36 Trade in means of transport	8	2
37 Trade in fuel	5	1
38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and arts and sciences	7	....
39 Trade of other sorts	19	2
C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts	229	29
VI—Public Force	*57*	*9*
40 Army	17	....
43 Police	40	9
VII—Public Administration	*51*	*10*
44 Public Administration	51	10
VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts	*121*	*10*
45 Religion	63	7
46 Law	4	....
47 Medicine	7	....
48 Instruction	35	1
49 Letters, Arts and Sciences (other than 44)	12	2
D—Miscellaneous	344	35
IX—Persons living on their income (Order 50) persons living principally on their income	*24*	*4*
50 Proprietors (other than of agricultural land) fund and scholarship-holders and pensioners	24	4
X—Domestic Service	*32*	*1*
51 Domestic service	32	1
XI—Insufficiently described occupations	*267*	*29*
52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation	267	29
XII—Unproductive	*21*	*1*
53 Inmates of Jails, Asylums and Alms houses	3	....
54 Beggars, Vagrants, and Prostitutes	17	1
55 Other unclassified non-productive industries	1	....

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—A

Distribution of Earners (principal occupation) and Working Dependents by sub-classes and natural divisions

Natural Division	Total 1,000			Number per mille of the total population occupied as Earners (principal occupation) and working dependents in											
	Non-working dependents	Working dependents	Earners (principal occupation)	Sub-Class I Exploitation of animals and Vegetation	Sub-Class II Exploitation of Minerals	Sub-Class III Industry	Sub-Class IV Transport	Sub-Class V Trade	Sub-Class VI Public Force	Sub-Class VII Public Administration	Sub-Class VIII Professions and liberal arts	Sub-Class IX Persons living on their income (Order 50) persons living principally on their income.	Sub-Class X Domestic Service	Sub-Class XI Insufficiently described occupations	Sub-Class XII Unproductive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Baroda State ..	504	103	393	707	2	107	13	55	12	10	24	5	7	54	4
Baroda City ..	597	19	384	63	..	309	72	147	110	80	74	32	21	66	26
Central Gujarat ..	512	67	421	740	2	101	8	43	8	8	23	3	5	55	4
North Gujarat ..	498	147	355	712	..	110	10	64	6	7	23	6	4	54	4
South Gujarat ..	462	77	461	801	2	68	13	23	8	6	12	1	12	47	2
Kathiawad ..	546	109	345	654	10	107	19	72	14	12	42	4	5	56	5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—B

Distribution of Earners (Subsidiary occupation) by Sub-Classes and Natural divisions

Natural Division	Number per mille of total population, of earners having a subsidiary occupation in											
	Sub-Class I	Sub-Class II	Sub-Class III	Sub-Class IV	Sub-Class V	Sub-Class VI	Sub-Class VII	Sub-Class VIII	Sub-Class IX	Sub-Class X	Sub-Class XI	Sub-Class XII
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Baroda State	491	..	139	23	109	32	37	39	15	5	105	5
Baroda City	175	..	141	15	227	..	13	72	281	..	39	37
Central Gujarat	566	..	106	6	78	37	31	45	11	4	111	5
North Gujarat	413	..	204	12	145	35	48	44	16	4	74	5
South Gujarat	564	1	90	54	68	27	22	16	5	7	145	3
Kathiawad	432	3	96	32	152	21	54	62	12	3	128	5

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Occupations of Females by Sub-Classes and Selected Orders and Groups

Group No.	Occupation	Number of earners and working dependents		Number of Females per 1000 Males
		Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5
	Total Working Population	**756,177**	**454,298**	**600**
	A—Production of Raw Materials	**506,697**	**351,196**	**693**
	I—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	*505,372*	*350,541*	*693*
	1 Pasture and Agriculture	504,105	349,786	694
	(*a*) Cultivation	479,412	336,877	702
	(*i*) Non-cultivators deriving income from agricultural land	12,392	8,823	712
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	11,908	8,823	741
	(*ii*) Cultivators of land permanently under cultivation.	467,020	328,054	702
5	Cultivating owners	317,332	191,760	604
6	Cultivating tenants	61,272	24,406	398
7	Agricultural labourers	88,416	111,888	1,265
	(*b*) Cultivation of special crops, fruits, etc.	1,257	617	491
16	(*ii*) Market gardeners, flower and fruit growers	1,204	617	512
	(*c*) Forestry	1,984	102	51
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	1,615	93	57
	(*d*) Stock raising	21,408	12,177	569
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	6,596	7,272	1,102
23	Herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals	13,404	4,885	364
	2 Fishing and hunting	1,267	755	596
27	Fishing and pearling	1,255	755	601
	II—Exploitation of Minerals	*1,325*	*655*	*494*
	4 Non-Metallic Minerals	1,325	655	494
37	Building materials (including stone, materials for cement manufacture and clays)	939	400	426
40	Salt, Saltpetre and other saline substances	386	255	661
	B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	**159,826**	**52,762**	**330**
	III—Industry	*93,546*	*36,114*	*386*
	5 Textiles	25,647	13,026	508
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	5,864	2,456	419
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	16,710	8,519	510
45	Rope, twine, string and other fibres	122	384	3,147
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	392	67	171
47	Silk spinning and weaving	337	245	727
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	2,051	546	266

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III—*contd.*

Group No.	Occupation	Number of earners and working dependents		Number of Females per 1000 Males
		Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5
50	Lace, crepe, embroideries, fringes, etc., and insufficiently described textile industries	171	808	4,725
6	Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	5,689	2,347	413
51	Working in leather	5,562	2,345	422
7	Wood	11,708	1,585	135
56	Basket makers and other industries of woody materials, including leaves and thatchers and builders working with bamboos, reeds or similar materials	1,760	1,506	856
8	Metals	5,084	392	77
9	Ceramics	7,918	5,969	754
63	Potters and makers of earthenware	5,600	4,816	860
64	Brick and tile makers	2,149	1,069	497
10	Chemical products, properly so called, and analogous	2,796	1,485	531
66	Manufacture of matches, fire-works and other explosives	488	282	578
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	2,130	1,200	563
11	Food Industries	3,426	2,221	648
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	679	1,610	2,371
78	Manufacture of Tobacco	980	362	369
12	Industries of dress and the toilet	16,264	5,941	365
82	Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers	2,885	783	271
83	Tailors, milliners, dress-makers and darners	5,344	4,161	778
85	Washing and cleaning	1,006	840	835
14	Building Industries	5,614	558	99
90	Lime burners, cement workers, excavators and well sinkers; stone cutters and dressers; brick layers and masons; builders (other than buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, decorators of houses, tilers, plumbers, etc.	5,614	558	99
17	Miscellaneous and undefined industries	8,747	2,488	284
100	Scavenging	3,652	2,425	664
	IV—Transport	*13,333*	*2,530*	*189*
20	Transport by road	4,743	2,236	471
111	Porters and messengers	1,755	1,877	1,070
21	Transport by rail	6,743	281	42
113	Labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance; and coolies and porters employed on railway premises	3,986	281	70
	V—Trade	*52,947*	*14,118*	*266*
115	23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance (Bank managers, money lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money-changers and brokers and their employees)	5,817	600	103
	31 Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	3,513	286	81
	32 Other trade in food stuffs	25,566	11,798	461
129	Grain and pulse dealers	12,073	1,107	92

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III—*concld.*

Group No.	Occupation	Number of earners and working dependents		Number of Females per 1000 Males
		Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices	6,782	6,813	1,004
131	Dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry	1,612	2,904	1,857
133	Dealers in fodder for animals	210	194	924
134	Dealers in other food stuffs	1,712	384	224
135	Dealers in tobacco	2,882	290	101
	37 Trade in fuel	678	549	810
145	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, etc.	678	549	810
	39 Trade of other sorts	4,301	399	93
150	General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified	3,269	360	110
	C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts	**52,392**	**3,482**	**66**
	VII—44 Public Administration	*12,026*	*388*	*32*
161	Municipal and other local (not village) service	965	164	170
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	1,793	216	120
	VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts	*26,345*	*3,094*	*117*
	45 Religion	13,446	1,933	144
164	Monks, nuns, religious mendicants	8,746	1,571	180
166	Servants in religious edifices, burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc.	2,953	284	96
	47 Medicine	1,286	320	249
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	340	298	876
	48 Instruction	7,944	723	91
174	Professors and teachers of all kinds	7,210	561	78
175	Clerks and servants connected with education	734	162	220
	49 Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	2,792	118	42
182	Musicians (composers and performers other than military), actors, dancers	1,254	63	50
	D—Miscellaneous	**37,262**	**46,858**	**1,257**
	IX—Persons living on their income (order 50) Persons living principally on their income	*3,484*	*2,421*	*695*
185	50 Proprietors (other than of agricultural land), fund and scholarship holders and pensioners	3,484	2,421	695
	X—51 Domestic Service	*5,399*	*2,517*	*466*
187	Other domestic service	5,027	2,517	500
	XI—Insufficiently described occupations (order 52)	*24,540*	*40,582*	*1,653*
	52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation.	24,540	40,582	1,653
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	22,306	40,567	1,818
	XII—Unproductive	*3,839*	*1,338*	*348*
	54 Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	3,085	1,193	387
193	Beggars and Vagrants	3,085	1,138	369

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Group No.	OCCUPATION *	WORKING POPULATION IN 1931*				Actual Workers in 1921*
		Earners and Working Dependents	Total Earners showing Occupation as Principal	Total Working Dependents	Earners as Subsidiary Occupation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	ALL OCCUPATIONS	**1,210,475**	**958,961**	**251,514**	**66,251**	**866,021**
	Class A—Production of Raw Materials	**857,893**	**634,740**	**223,153**	**32,592**	**570,387**
	SUB-CLASS I—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	*855,913*	*632,785*	*223,128*	*32,558*	*570,227*
	Order 1—Pasture and Agriculture	*853,891*	*630,814*	*223,077*	*32,436*	*569,009*
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind	20,731	20,731	..	5,958	6,787
2, 3, 4	Estate Agents and Managers, of owners, of Government; and rent collectors, clerks, etc.	484	484	..	27	2,216
5	Cultivating owners	509,092	320,152	188,940	8,453	326,891
6	Cultivating tenants	85,678	62,123	23,555	4,970	31,513
7	Agricultural labourers	200,304	200,304	..	8,290	179,271
13, 16	Cultivation of special crops, fruits, etc.	1,874	1,511	363	195	1,102
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	1,708	1,527	181	2,251	623
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	13,868	10,472	3,396	1,575	12,352
23	Herdsmen, shepherds and breeders of other animals	18,289	11,794	6,495	543	7,188
	Order 2—Fishing and Hunting	*2,022*	*1,971*	*51*	*122*	*1,218*
27	Fishing and Pearling	2,010	1,959	51	118	1,217
	SUB-CLASS II—Exploitation of Minerals	*1,980*	*1,955*	*25*	*34*	*160*
	Class B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	**212,588**	**185,758**	**26,830**	**17,929**	**166,155**
	SUB-CLASS III—Industry	*129,660*	*111,331*	*18,329*	*9,214*	*104,635*
	Order 5—Textiles	*38,673*	*37,554*	*1,119*	*2,068*	*26,777*
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	8,320	8,320	..	1,027	6,099
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	25,229	24,885	344	787	17,060
45	Rope, twine, string, and other fibres	506	382	124	46	471
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	459	448	11	37	103
47	Silk spinning and weaving	582	471	111	30	338
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles	2,597	2,207	390	101	2,024
	Order 6—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	*8,036*	*5,572*	*2,464*	*1,118*	*5,861*
51	Working in leather	7,907	5,452	2,455	1,118	5,724
53	Bone, ivory, horn, shell, etc., workers (except button)	127	118	9	..	111
	Order 7—Wood	*13,293*	*12,016*	*1,277*	*1,302*	*10,965*
54-55	Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.	10,027	9,439	588	873	8,249
56	Basket makers and other industries of woody materials, including leaves and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials	3,266	2,577	689	429	2,716
	Order 8—Metals	*5,476*	*4,811*	*665*	*440*	*4,975*
57	Smelting, forging and rolling of iron and other metals	51	51	..	15	66
59	Blacksmiths, other workers in iron makers of implements	4,458	3,882	576	411	4,018
60	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	769	698	71	12	689
61	Workers in other metals (except precious metals)	169	157	12	2	194
	Order 9—Ceramics	*13,887*	*8,496*	*5,391*	*1,419*	*12,844*
63	Potters and makers of earthenware	10,416	5,976	4,440	290	10,979
64	Brick and tile makers	3,218	2,328	890	459	1,772
	Order 10—Chemical products properly so called and analogous	*4,281*	*3,013*	*1,268*	*281*	*4,039*
	Order 11—Food industries	*5,647*	*5,077*	*570*	*495*	*4,126*
71	Rice pounders, etc.	2,289	2,010	279	47	2,432
72	Grain parchers, etc.	293	237	56	3	222

* Figures for 1931 and 1921 do not precisely correspond.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV—*contd.*

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Group No.	Occupation	Working Population in 1931 *				Actual Workers in 1921*
		Earners and Working Dependents	Total Earners showing Occupation as Principal	Total Working Dependents	Earners as Subsidiary Occupation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
73	Butchers	434	400	34	2	475
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers	495	425	70	59	357
78, 79 and 81	Manufacturers of tobacco, opium and others	1,831	1,701	130	110	539
	Order 12—Industries of dress and the toilet	*22,205*	*17,926*	*4,279*	*1,153*	*18,677*
82	Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers	3,668	2,760	908	123	3,033
85	Tailors, etc.	9,505	7,046	2,459	258	7,567
86	Barbers, hair dressers and wig makers	7,141	6,726	415	747	6,494
90	*Order 14—Building industries*	*6,172*	*5,988*	*184*	*560*	*6,259*
	Order 17—Miscellaneous and undefined industries	*11,235*	*10,192*	*1,043*	*316*	*9,679*
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments	4,278	3,829	449	53	2,644
100	Scavenging	6,077	5,499	578	211	5,020
	SUB-CLASS IV—Transport	*15,863*	*15,418*	*445*	*1,501*	*11,291*
	Order 20—Transport by road	*6,979*	*6,567*	*412*	*1,309*	*3,931*
107	Owners, managers and employés (excluding personal servants) connected with mechanically driven vehicles (including trams)	480	476	4	11	146
108	Owners, managers and employés (excluding personal servants) connected with other vehicles	1,327	1,327	..	54	2,321
110	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers	1,382	982	400	1,167	262
111	Porters and messengers	3,632	3,624	8	70	1,103
	Order 21—Transport by rail	*7,024*	*7,019*	*5*	*93*	*5,353*
112	Railway employés of all kinds other than coolies	2,757	2,756	1	28	4,554
113	Labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance and coolies and porters employed on railway premises	4,267	4,263	4	65	1,299
114	*Order 22—Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services*	*878*	*878*	..	*26*	*586*
	SUB-CLASS V—Trade	*67,065*	*59,009*	*8,056*	*7,214*	*50,221*
115	*Order 23—Banks, establishments of credit exchange and insurance (bank managers, money lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money changers and brokers and their employés)*	*6,417*	*6,062*	*355*	*1,921*	*5,096*
116	*Order 24—Brokerage, commision and export (brokers, commission agents, commercial travellers, warehouse owners and employés)*	*657*	*645*	*12*	*127*	*502*
117	*Order 25—Trade in textiles (trade in piece-goods, wool, cotton, silk, hair and other textiles)*	*5,877*	*5,452*	*425*	*464*	*4,451*
118	*Order 26—Trade in skins, leather and furs (trade in skins, leather, furs, feathers, horns, etc., and the articles made from these)*	*165*	*162*	*3*	*82*	*234*
119, 121 and 122	*Order 27—Trade in wood (trade in wood not firewood) bamboos, canes, thatches and other forest produce*	*584*	*558*	*26*	*44*	*492*
123	*Order 28—Trade in metals (trade in metals, machinery, knives, tools, etc.)*	*1,018*	*943*	*75*	*16*	*205*
124	*Order 29—Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles*	*103*	*91*	*12*	*4*	*152*
125	*Order 30—Trade in chemical products (drugs, dyes, paints, petroleum, explosives, etc.)*	*382*	*368*	*14*	*19*	*133*
	Order 31—Hotels, cafés, restaurants, etc.	*3,799*	*3,548*	*251*	*334*	*1,478*
126	*Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice*	*936*	*849*	*87*	*224*	*892*

* Figures for 1931 and 1921 do not precisely correspond.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV—*contd.*

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Group No.	Occupation	Working Population in 1931 *				Actual Workers in 1921 *
		Earners and Working Dependents	Total Earners showing Occupation as Principal	Total Working Dependents	Earners as Subsidiary Occupation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
127	Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, sarais, etc., and their employés	2,527	2,377	150	96	586
	Order 32—Other trade in foodstuffs	*37,364*	*31,584*	*5,780*	*3,026*	*23,439*
129	Grain and pulse dealers	13,180	11,471	1,709	1,080	10,200
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices ..	13,595	10,957	2,638	569	8,249
131	Dealers in dairy product, eggs and poultry ..	4,606	3,846	760	913	1,688
132	Dealers in animals for food	144	141	3	9	43
133	Dealers in fodder for animals	404	367	37	35	214
134	Dealers in other foodstuffs	2,096	1,706	390	153	1,849
135 136 137	Dealers in tobacco, opium and ganja ..	3,339	3,096	243	267	1,196
138	*Order 33—Trade in clothing and toilet articles ..*	*224*	*205*	*19*	*5*	*338*
	Order 34—Trade in furniture	*398*	*388*	*10*	*19*	*434*
139	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding	138	132	6	19	96
141	*Order 35—Trade in building materials .. ..*	*448*	*381*	*67*	*8*	*255*
142 143 144	*Order 36—Trade in means of transport .. ..*	*2,043*	*1,931*	*112*	*400*	*2,177*
145	*Order 37—Trade in fuel .. ..*	*1,227*	*1,111*	*116*	*227*	*795*
	Order 38—Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences .	*1,659*	*1,503*	*156*	*62*	*1,407*
146	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc.	684	648	36	26	661
147	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackles, flowers, etc.	746	642	104	32	578
148	Publishers, book-sellers, stationers, dealers in music, pictures, musical instruments and curiosities	229	213	16	4	168
	Order 39—Trade of other sorts	*4,700*	*4,077*	*623*	*456*	*3,583*
149	Dealers in rags, stable refuse, etc.	102	93	9	2	159
151	Itinerant traders, pedlars and hawkers (of other than food, etc.)	895	887	8	25	1,343
	Class C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts	**55,874**	**55,150**	**724**	**7,149**	**54,588**
	SUB-CLASS VI—Public Force	*14,021*	*13,998*	*23*	*2,123*	*10,579*
	Order 40—Army	*4,156*	*4,156*	..	..	*4,088*
153	Army (Imperial)	541	541	..	..	75
154	Army (Indian States)	3,615	3,615	..	..	4,013
	Order 43—Police	*9,865*	*9,842*	*23*	*2,123*	*6,491*
157	Police	4,544	4,544	..	53	3,997
158	Village watchmen	5,321	5,298	23	2,070	2,494
	SUB-CLASS VII—44 Public Administration ..	*12,414*	*12,381*	*33*	*2,449*	*14,803*
159	Service of the State	8,845	8,845	..	914	10,861
160	Service of Indian and Foreign States ..	431	431	..	15	512
161	Municipal and other local (not village service)	1,129	1,129	..	15	1,672
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	2,009	1,976	33	1,505	1,758

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV—*concld.*

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Group No.	OCCUPATION	WORKING POPULATION IN 1931 *				Actual Workers in 1921 *
		Earners and Working Depen-dents	Total Earners showing Occu-pation as Principal	Total Working Depen-dents	Earners as Subsidiary Occu-pation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	SUB-CLASS VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts	*29,439*	*28,771*	*668*	*2,577*	*29,206*
	Order 45 Religion	*15,379*	*14,810*	*569*	*1,835*	*18,635*
163	Priests, ministers, etc.	1,345	1,332	13	149	8,323
164	Monks, nuns and religious mendicants ..	10,317	9,901	416	1,148	7,047
165	Other religious workers	480	468	12	46	186
166	Servants in religious edifices, burial and burning grounds, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers, etc.	3,237	3,109	128	492	3,079
	Order 46—Law	*877*	*875*	2	*29*	*537*
167	Lawyers of all kinds including Kazis, law agents and Mukhtiars	361	361	..	7	445
168	Lawyers' clerks, petition writers, etc. ..	516	514	2	22	92
	Order 47—Medicine	*1,606*	*1,593*	*13*	*117*	*1,240*
169, 170, 171 and 173	Registered and non-registered medical practitioners including oculists, dentists and veterinary surgeons	968	955	13	99	859
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	638	638	..	18	381
174 and 175	*Order 48—Instruction (professors and teachers of all kinds, and clerks and servants connected with education)*	*8,667*	*8,667*	..	*177*	*5,590*
	Order 49—Letters, Arts and Sciences (other than 44)	*2,910*	*2,826*	*84*	*419*	*3,204*
182	Musicians, (composers and performers other than military) actors, dancers, etc. ..	1,317	1,244	73	339	1,854
	Class D—Miscellaneous	**84,120**	**83,313**	**807**	**8,581**	**74,891**
185	*SUB-CLASS IX—50—Persons living on their income (proprietors other than of agricultural land) fund and scholarship holders and pensioners*	*5,905*	*5,905*	..	*978*	*4,309*
	SUB-CLASS X—51—Domestic service ..	*7,916*	*7,914*	*2*	*303*	*4,804*
186	Private motor-drivers and cleaners	372	370	2	9	38
187	Other domestic service	7,544	7,544	..	294	4,766
	SUB-CLASS XI—52—Insufficiently described occupations (general terms which do not indicate a definite occupation)	*65,122*	*65,044*	*78*	*6,977*	*59,612*
188	Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified	651	619	32	63	404
189	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employés in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops	1,476	1,430	46	69	16,265
190	Mechanics otherwise unspecified	122	122	..	14	115
	SUB-CLASS XII—Unproductive	*5,177*	*4,450*	*727*	*323*	*6,166*
192	*Order 53—Inmates of jails, asylums and alms houses*	*712*	..	*712*	..	*763*
193 and 194	*Order 54—Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes* ..	*4,278*	*4,278*	..	*314*	*4,938*

* Figures for 1931 and 1921 do not precisely correspond.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Occupation of Selected Castes

Caste and Occupation	Number per 1,000 earners engaged on each occupation	Number of female earners per 1,000 males
1	2	3
ADVANCED		
Hindu and Jain		
Bhavsar (*Calenderers and dyers*)		
Trade	481	93
Calenderers and Dyers	*197*	*351*
Other occupations	155	350
Labourers unspecified	92	2,740
Industries	75	330
Brahmabhat and Barot (*Bards and genealogists*)		
Cultivators	466	20
Other occupations	332	482
Trade	120	21
Bards and genealogists	*45*	*49*
Labourers unspecified	37	1,446
Brahman—*Anavala* (*Landlords and cultivators*)		
Landlords and cultivators	*710*	*62*
Other occupations	96	110
Arts and Professions	78	..
Public Administration	59	..
Trade	57	..
Brahman—Audich (*Priests*)		
Other occupations	356	406
Priests	*209*	*171*
Cultivators	165	65
Arts and Professions	160	71
Trade	110	26
Brahman—Deshastha (*Priests*)		
Public Administration	375	2
Other occupations	282	122
Arts and Professions	171	180
Priests	*98*	*147*
Persons living on their income	74	204
Brahman—Mewada (*Priests*)		
Other occupations	387	444
Cultivators	239	61
Priests	*197*	*125*
Arts and Professions	115	24
Trade	62	86
Brahman—Modh (*Priests*)		
Other occupations	316	249
Priests	*227*	*249*
Arts and Professions	195	94
Cultivators	168	12
Income from rent of land	94	649
Brahman—Nagar (*Priests and Learned Professions*)		
Other occupations	353	299
Priests and learned Professions	*309*	*85*
Income from rent of land	178	274
Arts and Professions	144	182
Public Administration	16	27
Brahman-Tapodhan (*Temple servants*)		
Cultivators	327	21
Other occupations	279	837
Industries	186	22
Temple servants	*105*	*312*
Arts and Professions	103	74
Ghanchi (*Oil-pressers and sellers*)		
Oil-pressers and sellers	*367*	*112*
Trade	340	95
Other occupations	141	425
Labourers unspecified	132	2,231
Cultivators	20	42
Kachhia (*Khambhar*) (*Cultivators and vegetable sellers*)		
Cultivators and vegetable sellers	*414*	*95*
Industries	297	653
Trade	161	49
Other occupations	74	361
Labourers unspecified	54	2,160
Lewa Patidar (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*790*	*124*
Other occupations	77	360
Field labourers, etc.	73	2,010
Trade	39	187
Income from rent of land	21	492
Luhana (*Traders*)		
Traders	*725*	*61*
Other occupations	153	208
Cultivators	61	22
Labourers unspecified	39	1,014
Field labourers, etc.	22	7,300
Maratha-Kshatriya (*Military and dominant*)		
Other occupations	476	353
Military and dominant	*230*	..
Public Administration	193	43
Public Force	64	..
Labourers unspecified	37	1,514
Soni (*Goldsmiths*)		
Goldsmiths	*339*	*6*
Other occupations	106	1,289
Industries	31	1,762
Trade	20	56
Public Administration	4	..
Sutar (*Carpenters*)		
Carpenters	*796*	*1*
Other occupations	105	4,109
Cultivators	59	99
Industries	32	781
Trade	8	222
Vania-Dishawal (*Traders*)		
Traders	*613*	*22*
Other occupations	155	575
Persons living on their income	122	938
Industries	58	47
Public Administration	52	..

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—*contd.*

Occupation of Selected Castes

Caste and Occupation	Number per 1,000 earners engaged on each occupation	Number of female earners per 1,000 males
1	2	3
Vania-Lad (*Traders*)		
Traders	*554*	*17*
Other occupations	158	114
Persons living on their income	113	578
Income from rent of land	96	64
Public Administration	79	..
Vania-Shrimali (*Traders*)		
Traders	*770*	*37*
Other occupations	153	580
Industries	31	280
Income from rent of land	30	300
Public Administration	16	..
Muslim		
Memon (*Traders and Pedlars*)		
Traders and Pedlars	*626*	*47*
Cultivators	192	4
Other occupations	105	308
Labourers unspecified	61	866
Field labourers, etc.	16	667
Pinjara (*Cotton-carders*)		
Trade	407	246
Other occupations	285	251
Cotton-carders	*164*	*497*
Labourers unspecified	74	1,420
Cultivators	70	117
Saiyad (*Priests*)		
Other occupations	507	217
Cultivators	215	25
Public Administration	105	6
Arts and Professions	104	39
Priests	*69*	*265*
Vohra-Agricultural (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*794*	*153*
Other occupations	103	636
Trade	69	107
Field labourers, etc.	21	1,512
Labourers unspecified	13	1,321
Vohra-Trading (*Traders*)		
Traders	*685*	*29*
Industries	158	567
Other occupations	93	230
Arts and Professions	48	55
Labourers unspecified	16	378
Parsi		
Parsi (*Traders*)		
Other occupations	289	111
Traders	*240*	*330*
Industries	213	2,586
Arts and Professions	141	153
Cultivators	117	9

Caste and Occupation	Number per 1,000 earners engaged on each occupation	Number of female earners per 1,000 males
1	2	3
INTERMEDIATE		
Hindu, Jain and Tribal		
Anjana Chaudhari (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*738*	*337*
Field labourers, etc.	196	1,402
Other occupations	32	688
Income from rent of land	25	2,277
Labourers unspecified	9	586
Baria (*Cultivators and Field labourers*)		
Cultivators and Field labourers	*794*	*372*
Labourers unspecified	91	17,582
Other occupations	45	291
Trade	37	404
Industries	33	579
Bava and Gosain (*Devotees*)		
Devotees	*410*	*124*
Cultivators	225	27
Other occupations	187	308
Arts and Professions	141	41
Field labourers, etc.	37	1,456
Chamar-Khalpa (*Tanners*)		
Field labourers, etc.	319	1,600
Tanners	*303*	*65*
Labourers unspecified	198	1,924
Cultivators	152	93
Other occupations	28	117
Darji (*Tailors*)		
Tailors	*940*	*359*
Other occupations	29	1,282
Cultivators	14	26
Labourers unspecified	10	8,167
Industries	7	53
Garoda (*Priests and Beggars*)		
Priests and Beggars	*479*	*88*
Labourers unspecified	194	6,634
Field labourers, etc.	120	20,555
Other occupations	114	121
Industries	93	1,594
Gola-Rice pounders (*Rice-pounders*)		
Labourers unspecified	333	2,267
Rice-pounders	*277*	*1,065*
Other occupations	207	23
Trade	175	62
Cultivators	8	150
Kadwa Patidar (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*679*	*56*
Field labourers, etc.	196	4,102
Other occupations	74	797
Industries	41	1,137
Income from rent of land	10	1,218
Karadia (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*915*	*55*
Labourers unspecified	44	1,690
Other occupations	19	136
Public Force	15	..
Field labourers, etc.	7	1,833

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—*contd.*

OCCUPATION OF SELECTED CASTES

CASTE AND OCCUPATION	Number per 1,000 earners engaged on each occupation	Number of female earners per 1,000 males
1	2	3
Kumbhar (*Potters*)		
Potters	*364*	*200*
Cultivators	217	43
Field labourers, etc.	195	2,531
Other occupations	145	489
Labourers unspecified	79	2,104
Luhar (*Blacksmiths*)		
Blacksmiths	*528*	*21*
Cultivators	156	60
Industries	140	29
Other occupations	129	2,059
Field labourers, etc.	47	7,135
Mochi (*Shoe-makers*)		
Shoe-makers	*734*	*44*
Other occupations	96	364
Labourers unspecified	67	4,341
Field labourers, etc.	61	1,792
Cultivators	42	355
Patanwadia (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and Agricultural labourers	*842*	*472*
Other occupations	65	346
Labourers unspecified	52	1,566
Industries	36	1,328
Trade	5	917
Primitive and Forest Tribes		
Chodhra (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*878*	*503*
Transport	42	364
Other occupations	39	143
Labourers unspecified	25	1,018
Industries	16	663
Dhanka (*Cultivators and agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*867*	*629*
Other occupations	92	200
Labourers unspecified	16	389
Industries	13	176
Transport	12	..
Dhodia (*Cultivators and agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*908*	*908*
Other occupations	40	325
Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen	25	400
Industries	18	171
Labourers unspecified	9	549
Rajput (*Military and dominant*)		
Cultivators	643	37
Other occupations	189	441
Field labourers, etc.	105	577
Income from rent of land	33	1,655
Military and dominant	*30*	..
Sathwara (*Vegetable growers and sellers*)		
Vegetable growers and sellers	*402*	*634*
Industries	253	..
Labourers unspecified	175	4,152
Other occupations	102	140
Field labourers, etc.	68	4,719
Talabda (*Cultivators and agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*734*	*376*
Labourers unspecified	124	2,469
Industries	75	112
Other occupations	56	274
Trade	11	367
Targala (*Actors, dancers and singers*)		
Actors, dancers and singers	*373*	..
Other occupations	258	474
Cultivators	228	24
Labourers unspecified	122	10,278
Field labourers, etc.	19	1,214
Valand (*Barbers*)		
Barbers	*657*	*9*
Other occupations	198	3,413
Cultivators	106	145
Public Administration	24	41
Arts and Professions	15	426
Vankar (Dhed) (*Weavers*)		
Field labourers, etc.	377	1,148
Weavers	*234*	*371*
Cultivators	177	203
Labourers unspecified	122	1,543
Other occupations	90	233
Muslim		
Fakir (*Mendicants and Beggars*)		
Mendicants and beggars	*518*	*195*
Cultivators	189	85
Other occupations	172	117
Field labourers, etc.	65	1,203
Labourers unspecified	56	1,431
Ghanchi (*Oil-pressers and sellers*)		
Oil-pressers and sellers	*392*	*91*
Other occupations	237	365
Cultivators	164	77
Trade	176	201
Field labourers, etc.	31	1,419
Malek (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*561*	*120*
Other occupations	237	105
Industries	101	179
Labourers unspecified	58	1,370
Field labourers, etc.	43	1,927
Molesalam (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*738*	*81*
Other occupations	126	468
Field labourers, etc.	69	2,556
Industries	34	50
Labourers unspecified	33	1,123

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—*concld.*

Occupation of Selected Castes

Caste and Occupation	Number per 1,000 earners engaged on each occupation	Number of female earners per 1,000 males
1	2	3
Momna (*Cultivators*)		
Cultivators	*853*	*82*
Other occupations	63	274
Industries	53	109
Field labourers, etc.	16	1,185
Labourers unspecified	15	2,053
Pathan (*Cultivators*)		
Other occupations	391	241
Cultivators	*277*	*108*
Public force	115	..
Public Administration	110	2
Industries	107	134
Shaikh (*Cultivators*)		
Other occupations	420	162
Cultivators	*201*	*186*
Industries	193	135
Trade	161	49
Field labourers, etc.	25	917
Christian		
Indian Christian.		
Industries	375	94
Other occupations	267	182
Cultivators	170	207
Labourers unspecified	98	244
Field labourers, etc.	90	302
ILLITERATE		
Bhangi (*Scavengers*)		
Scavengers	*366*	*570*
Field labourers, etc.	336	945
Labourers unspecified	153	1,236
Other occupations	84	299
Cultivators	61	40
Bharwad (*Cattle-breeders and graziers*)		
Cattle-breeders and graziers	*523*	*56*
Cultivators	203	53
Labourers unspecified	107	8,728
Field labourers, etc.	90	1,033
Others occupations	77	181
Chunvalia (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*694*	*391*
Labourers unspecified	273	1,231
Other occupations	121	70
Industries	6	538
Trade	6	..
Primitive and Forest Tribes		
Bhil (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*906*	*588*
Labourers unspecified	46	787
Others occupations	31	183
Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen	10	42
Industries	7	563

Caste and Occupation	Number per 1,000 earners engaged on each occupation	Number of female earners per 1,000 males
1	2	3
Gamit (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*951*	*430*
Other occupations	24	141
Labourers unspecified	14	451
Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen	8	115
Transport	3	81
Nayakda (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*871*	*883*
Other occupations	55	283
Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen	34	215
Labourers unspecified	26	486
Industries	14	438
Ravalia (*Tape-weavers and drummers*)		
Trade	384	1,458
Transport	202	45
Other occupations	185	358
Labourers unspecified	169	747
Tape-weavers and drummers	*60*	*200*
Shenva (*Village watchmen and rope-makers*)		
Labourers unspecified	370	1,173
Field labourers, etc.	304	1,019
Cultivators	188	14
Other occupations	92	269
Village watchmen and Rope-makers	*46*	..
Thakarda (*Cultivators and Agricultural labourers*)		
Cultivators and agricultural labourers	*795*	*113*
Labourers unspecified	121	1,542
Other occupations	42	195
Industries	36	774
Trade	6	61
Vagher (*Military and dominant*)		
Cultivators	740	8
Other occupations	101	692
Field labourers, etc.	94	2,652
Labourers unspecified	65	828
Military and dominant	..	..
Vaghri (*Hunters and Fowlers*)		
Other occupations	304	418
Labourers unspecified	285	915
Field labourers, etc.	238	536
Cultivators	172	53
Hunters and Fowlers	1	..

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Occupation of English Literates

Occupation	Population dealt with			Baroda City		Amreli Division	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Earners and Working Dependents	19,443	19,210	233	5,271	112	1,039	4
I *Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation*	*2,551*	*2,543*	*8*	*72*	*1*	*80*	*2*
Landlords	47	47	..	8	..	3	..
Agriculture (cultivating owners and tenants)	2,504	2,496	8	64	1	77	2
II *Exploitation of Minerals*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
III *Industries*	*517*	*487*	*30*	*118*	*1*	*46*	..
IV *Transport*	*1,758*	*1,756*	*2*	*769*	..	*37*	..
Steamer Service	42	40	2	..	..	..	..
Railway	1,399	1,399	..	625	..	19	..
Post and Telegraph	314	314	..	142	..	17	..
Telephone	3	3	..	2	..	1	..
V *Trade*	*3,249*	*3,242*	*7*	*599*	..	*319*	*2*
VI *Public Force*	*545*	*545*	..	*288*	..	*35*	..
Army	175	175	..	155	..	8	..
Police	370	370	..	133	..	27	..
VII *Public Administration*	*3,226*	*3,216*	*10*	*1,643*	*8*	*196*	*1*
Other government servants (except teachers and doctors)	3,226	3,216	10	1,643	8	196	1
VIII *Professions and Liberal Arts*	*2,728*	*2,582*	*146*	*687*	*81*	*148*	..
Religious Preachers	115	109	6	29	..	..	..
Mendicants	40	40	..	16	..	9	..
Lawyers	274	274	..	103	..	14	..
Doctors	586	515	71	142	46	30	..
Teachers in State employ	1,339	1,302	37	258	30	91	..
Teachers in Private service	273	241	32	58	5	3	..
Engineering Department	81	81	..	63	..	1	..
Electric Department	16	16	..	14	..	..	..
Astrologers	4	4	..	4	..	..	..
IX *Persons living on their Income*	*1,596*	*1,571*	*25*	*423*	*18*	*50*	..
Income from other sources	1,219	1,202	17	158	10	34	..
Pensioners	309	309	..	215	..	8	..
Scholarship holders	68	60	8	50	8	8	..
X *Domestic Service*	*141*	*139*	*2*	*90*	*2*	..	..
Domestic service	73	71	2	57	2	..	..
Motor drivers	68	68	..	33	..	..	..
XI *Insufficiently described Occupations*	*3,132*	*3,129*	*3*	*582*	*1*	*128*	..
Contractors	5	5	..	3	..	..	..
Private service	2,216	2,215	1	513	1	119	..
Others	911	909	2	66	..	9	..
XII *Unproductive*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Non-working Dependents	12,579	11,008	1,571	3,951	887	583	35

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Occupation of English Literates

Baroda Division		Mehsana Division		Navsari Division		Okhamandal		Occupation
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1
5,236	**41**	**4,082**	**16**	**3,082**	**58**	**500**	**2**	**Earners and Working Dependents**
1,344	*2*	*300*	..	*745*	*3*	*2*	..	I *Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation*
36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Landlords
1,308	2	300	..	745	3	2	..	Agriculture (cultivating owners and tenants)
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	II *Exploitation of Minerals*
106	*1*	*114*	..	*97*	*28*	*6*	..	III *Industries*
333	..	*377*	..	*156*	..	*84*	..	IV *Transport*
..	..	..	..	..	..	40	2	Steamer Service
287	..	316	..	114	..	38	..	Railway
46	..	61	..	42	..	6	..	Post and Telegraph
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Telephone
727	*3*	*1,054*	*2*	*477*	*1*	*66*	..	V *Trade*
52	..	*101*	..	*61*	..	*8*	..	VI *Public Force*
1	..	4	..	1	..	6	..	Army
51	..	97	..	60	..	2	..	Police
418	..	*509*	*1*	*347*	..	*103*	..	VII *Public Administration*
418	..	509	1	347	..	103	..	Other government servants (except teachers and doctors)
676	*33*	*576*	*11*	*454*	*21*	*41*	..	VIII *Professions and Liberal-Arts*
12	5	..	..	68	1	..	..	Religious Preachers
13	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	Mendicants
52	..	69	..	30	..	6	..	Lawyers
119	7	112	10	102	8	10	..	Doctors
422	8	346	1	163	3	22	..	Teachers in State employ
51	18	49	..	79	9	1	..	Teachers in Private service
7	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	Engineering Department
..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	Electric Department
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Astrologers
490	*1*	*360*	*2*	*235*	*4*	*13*	..	IX *Persons living on their Income*
443	1	360	2	203	4	4	..	Income from other sources
47	..	..	..	32	..	7	..	Pensioners
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	Scholarship holders
7	..	*6*	..	*35*	..	*1*	..	X *Domestic Service*
..	..	2	..	12	..	..	..	Domestic service
7	..	4	..	23	..	1	..	Motor drivers
1,083	*1*	*685*	..	*475*	*1*	*176*	..	XI *Insufficiently described Occupations*
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Contractors
514	..	503	..	424	..	142	..	Private service
567	1	182	..	51	1	34	..	Others
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	XII *Unproductive*
2,563	**177**	**2,299**	**121**	**1,507**	**332**	**105**	**19**	**Non-working Dependents**

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN IRRIGATION, POST AND TELEGRAPH AND RAILWAY DEPARTMENTS ON THE 26TH FEBRUARY 1931

CLASS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED	Europeans and Anglo-Indian	Indian
(A) IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT		
Total Persons Employed	....	**43**
Persons Directly Employed	....	*43*
Officers	....	....
Upper Subordinates	....	....
Lower Subordinates	....	....
Clerks	....	11
Peons and other servants	....	26
Coolies	....	6
Persons Indirectly Employed	....	....
Contractors	....	....
Contractors' regular employees	....	....
Coolies	....	....
(B) RAILWAYS		
Total Persons Employed	**16**	**6,623**
Officers	1	12
Subordinates on scale of pay rising to Rs. 250 per mensem or over	7	19
Subordinates on scale of pay rising from Rs. 30 to Rs. 249 per mensem	7	1,775
Subordinates on scale of pay under Rs. 30	1	4,817

(C) POSTS & TELEGRAPHS

CLASS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED	Post Office		Telegraph Department	
	Europeans and Anglo-Indian	Indian	Europeans and Anglo-Indian	Indian
Total Persons Employed	....	**1,111**	**3**	**16**
(1) *Posts and Telegraphs*	....	*912*	*3*	*16*
Supervising officers (including Probationary Superintendents and Inspectors of Post Offices and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs and all officers of higher rank than these)	....	6	1	....
Postmasters, including Deputy Assistant, Sub and Branch Postmasters	....	65	....	....
Signalling establishment including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists and other employees	....	1	....	....
Miscellaneous agents, school masters, station masters, etc.	....	241	....	....
Clerks of all kinds	....	123	....	....
Postmen	....	365	2	....
Skilled and labour establishment, including foremen, instrument makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen and line-riders and other employees	....	....	....	16
Unskilled labour establishment including line coolies, cable guards, batterymen, telegraph messengers, peons and other employees	....	57	....	....
Road establishment consisting of overseers, runners, clerks and booking agents, boatmen, syces, coachmen, bearers and others	....	54	....	....
(2) *Railway Mail Service*	....	*132*	....	....
Supervising officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of sorting)	....	3	....	....
Clerks of all kinds	....	1	....	....
Sorters	....	85	....	....
Mail Guards, mail agents, van peons, porters, etc.	....	43	....	....
(3) *Combined Officers*	....	*67*	....	....
Singnallers	....	7	....	....
Messengers and other servants	....	60	....	....

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APPENDIX III

DISAPPEARING INDUSTRIES IN BARODA STATE

(*By* S. N. Oke, B. Com.)

1. Homecrafts in Baroda State—The strength of the home workers as apart from factory operatives has already been discussed in the body of the Chapter on Occupation. Such information about common homecrafts as is available to us, is due to the efforts of the State Department of Commerce and Industries which has always made it a point to interest itself in cottage industries. It is mainly from the bulletins of this department published from time to time, that one learns about the condition of the various cottage industries. Recently it has been definitely noticeable that crafts which were the specialities of certain localities are gradually dying out. The most noteworthy amongst these are :—

(*i*) the weaving industry in Baroda City and Gandevi,

(*ii*) the lacquerwork of Sankheda,

(*iii*) the art of dyeing and printing by the Bhavsars and

(*iv*) the metal work of Visnagar.

A perusal of recent brochures by the Commerce department in regard to these industries reveals how far they are lapsing into disuse.

2. Handloom Weaving in Baroda—Baroda and Gandevi are cited as typical centres of the old hand-weaving industry, and their condition might indicate the trend of decay of this craft in Baroda State. Weaving was by far the most important cottage industry which was flourishing all over the State. Baroda City is a typical locality of honourable traditions in this respect. During Mughal times Baroda was well-known for its fabrics ; travellers like Tavernier have praised them. The cloths special to Baroda were however freely copied by weavers later on in a number of places like Nagpur, Sholapur and Bhivandi and finally by mills. The only reason which keeps alive for Baroda its modicum of handloom-weaving is the impossibility of imitating the handwoven *sarees* of fine count single yarn on power-looms. The varieties of cloth celebrated of Baroda are *maheshwari sarees*, *pitambars* (*silk dhotis*), turban fabrics, *chanderi khands* (blouse cloth) and garments with embroidered border and 'solid' border. The marginal table gives the castes engaged in the work, the number of looms and of workers and the kinds of cloth special to each caste. 52 families of Vohras and 90 of (Dhed) Vankars have given up weaving. 40 families of Ravalia weave *newar* (putties or tape) and are not technically weavers. In addition there is a small handful of Bandhara and Dhed weavers. All the looms except one are of the primitive type. One or two factories started on the tide of Swadeshism, used fly shuttle and automatic looms, but with the ebb of the fervour the factories lapsed into idleness. The raw material—cotton and silk yarn is now provided by the mills; preliminary processes such as warping, sizing, dyeing, etc., are entrusted to local specialists. Hardly 30 weavers have their own capital and they derive no advantage except independence, from it. The others resort

Caste	Looms		Number of families	Actual workers	Dependents	Kind of cloth woven by caste
	Running	Idle				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Khatri	128	122	59	94	173	*Sarees, Khands Pitambars*, embroidered border cloth and other fine count fabrics.
Khatri Pancholi:	7	2	7	11	21	
Tai	32	18	50	76	187	*Ghagrapat* and *Lungis*.
Vohra	116	46	96	164	298	*Paghdi* (Turban cloth).
Total ..	283	188	212	345	679	

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to the inevitable middleman and are content to receive the weaving wage only. The average monthly income of a weaver is hardly 8 rupees a month and supplemented by an even more meagre earning of his wife (if she works), he ekes out a miserable existence. The merchant who finds the market for these people's production grumble that their standard does not come up to that set by weavers of Dholka and other competing places. The gradual sinking of the industry appears to be due not only to the mill competition as is the universal belief, but also to the lack of energy, inventive originality and effort to study the demand, on the part of the weavers themselves; they could if they chose, always be a step ahead of the mills in designs. But their apathy is not altogether due to want of intelligence; indebtedness and the struggle for existence as well as a fickle public taste is apt to dishearten them. They have now so much an air of being completely beaten, that efforts on the part of the Commerce department to give them a co-operative society, a weaver's store and to help them with demonstrations have met with little response hitherto.

3. Handloom Weaving in Gandevi—The story of Gandevi is much the same as Baroda. A long tradition of artistic craft, competition of the machine and a gradual sinking, spasmodically revived by the veering of public opinion in favour of handwoven cloth—these are various stages that the industry has undergone. Till the end of the nineteenth century Gandevi held its place as a prominent weaving centre. It mainly catered to the rough needs of the primitive Dublas and Chodhras round about. Later on it took to weaving silk bordered cloth and continued to supply the simple needs of the good folk of a considerable region of South Gujarat. The last seven years however disturbed this happy routine and forced many a weaver out of his occupation and even out of the country, by the influx of cheap machine-made goods. Their protests having left the local authorities, importers of mill-cloth and buyers all equally unmoved, they took to other avocations like tailoring or migrated to foreign countries like Africa and the Fiji Islands. At present Khatris still form the bulk of the weaving class; the *entrepreneur* is as prominent among them as anywhere else though the Muslim weavers do not share this doubtful advantage. The marginal table gives the castes and families occupied in the callings. There are 252 old handlooms, 56 fly shuttle sleys and 74 dobbies. The kinds of cloth produced are cotton *sarees* of various types—with plain, mercerised or silk borders. 30 to 40 looms have profited by the guidance of the Commerce department demonstrations class and are producing the Cambay type of fine count cotton *sarees*. The 56 fly shuttles and 74 dobbies also are introduced through the efforts of the class which has thus achieved better success than in the City of Baroda. Practically all the preliminary processes except dyeing (done by the local Galiaras) are finished in other places like Surat and Bombay before the yarn is put on the loom. The idea of a Co-operative Society or a weaver's store appeals to Gandevi weavers no more than to their brethren in Baroda.

Caste	Families	Workers	Dependents
1	2	3	4
Khatri	88	252	147
Tai	21	50	67
Ghanchi	64	133	174
Khatri Pancholi ..	4	8	8
Dubla	3	6	11
Pathan	9	17	27
Total ..	189	466	434

4. The Lacquerwork of Sankheda—The lacquer work articles produced in Sankheda had this advantage over other handicraft productions, that their individuality could not be overshadowed by foreign or machine-made substitutes. The industry thus had better hopes of surviving than other cottage industries. The articles produced were moreover peculiarly suited to the local demand, *e.g.*, cradle-stands, four-legged stools for worship, cots, swingcots, temple equipment for deities and orthodox type of toys. The demand looked like being steadily continuous before the War, but the increase in prices which the artisans were forced to make during that event, and the subsequent depression which tempted the usual buyers of these articles to go in for cheaper foreign substitutes, drove many a worker out of this craft into carpentry or trade in wood. Whereas formerly Kharadiwad—the stronghold of these workers—supported nearly 30 families with about 150 persons, now there are only 4 families with 20 persons engaged in this work. The Department of Industries has come to the rescue of this craft in several ways such as :—

(*i*) by giving publicity to the articles in exhibitions, by arrangements of sales, catalogues, etc.,

(*ii*) by securing orders for them,

(*iii*) by suggesting improvements in design to suit changing tastes, *e.g.*, varying the old colours, and instructing them to make things more likely to appeal to modern

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demand—things like electric lamp stands, flowerpots, hatstands, chess boards, paper-weights, pin-cushions, etc., and

(*iv*) by opening a class to teach better methods.

The buying public however does not show the old interest, and even the articles of orthodox demand are outrivalled by competitive production in other places.

5. Cloth Dyeing and Printing by Bhavsars and Chhipas—This industry appears almost uniformly all over the State, but notable centres are Padra, Bahadarpur, Sinor, Vadnagar, Kathor, Gandevi and Amreli. The Bhavsars and Chhipas and some Muslim Galiaras who do similar work have certain stock types of printed and dyed cloth such as *chhidris*, skirtcloth and quilt covers, and they seldom attempt any new enterprise in other directions. They bulk more largely in Padra, Gandevi and Amreli than the other centres. As in other industries, cheaper and better machine printed substitutes have been the ruin of this one too. Only the villages where custom dies hard, the good old Bhavsar prints are still patronised. There is no incentive to artistic work as the machine cannot be outdone at any price and consequently quality and quantity of these peoples' work has declined. The dyeing materials formerly used were indigo, *kasumbi*, and *kasilo* for blue, red and black colours respectively. Foreign synthetic dyes have long displaced these native ingredients. With a view to improve the lot of these people, the Department of Industries has engaged a demonstrator to teach them methods of cheap and easy dyeing. Six scholarships are given to sons of Bhavsars to learn new methods and it is hoped that such learners will make due use of their knowledge in their traditional occupation.

6. Metal Work of Visnagar—The fame of Visnagar metalware (particularly brass and copper vessels) is of a long standing and once the name was a virtual hall-mark of quality in distant markets. Machine production has given the usual set back to this industry as to all others. However certain articles yet continue to command a sale because of their sound quality: the joint-soldering work of this place is particularly celebrated. There are still about 75 families engaged in this work. Though the competition of machine-made goods renders the making of goods of utility uneconomic, artistic production has yet a definite though small market. The superiority of handicraft in this respect is not likely to be discounted by even the best manufactured products, and Visnagar artisans have a better hope in this line. The most notable work is of Mistry Raghunath Tribhovandas who specialises in highly artistic articles of furniture of carved wood covered with brass or copper sheets, brass inlaid work, brass and silver worked stools for Jain shrines and various ornamental and costly pieces of metal-sheeted furniture for palaces and royal households. His work is universally appreciated and patronised by Europeans, and other tourists. Others are also working in this direction. The only help the Department of Industries gives to these artisans is publicity to their products.

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APPENDIX IV

CENSUS OF LIVESTOCK

(Some Inferences)

(By J. T. PATEL, B.A., LL.B.)

1. Introductory—Until 1920, no regular census of livestock was taken in the State. Only a rough estimate is prepared every year by the Revenue department, to assess the sufficiency or otherwise of the State's agricultural wealth. This was, however, not considered enough, as before the time of the last census, several causes such as the succession of bad years, scarcity of milk and *ghee* and the consequent effect on the physical and economic condition of the people, the rumours about the exportation of cattle and the growth of creameries had led the public to believe that unless Government interfered and took stock of the actual state of things the agricultural livestock would be exhausted, with distressing effect on the general and economic conditions of its agriculturist population. It was therefore at the instance of the Head of the Census department that the first regular census of livestock was ordered by the Government and taken in the year 1920 : but the figures obtained were not of much use for comparison or help for measuring the real condition of the agricultural cattle in the State.

2. Results of 1920 Regular Census of Livestock—The conditions disclosed by the regular census were found to be generally satisfactory throughout the State except in some mahals. On a review of the results, however, it was recommended that a regular census of the kind should be taken at the end of every five years to keep in touch with the agricultural wealth of the State and to allay public apprehensions ; but the recommendation does not appear to have found favour with either the Agricultural or the Revenue department, who should have moved in the matter. It was therefore decided to have along with the general census of the population, a second regular census of the livestock.

3. Preliminary Arrangements—This census was taken in October 1930, along with the work of house-numbering which was then going on. In order to collect this information, the same form as is used by the Bombay Presidency Census of livestock was adopted and tacked on to the house list. Along with each numbered household with the name of its head, the number of its cattle and of its ploughs and carts was recorded. The same procedure as was adopted in 1920 was continued in this census and it must be said that we had without doubt for the second time in the State, a complete and accurate census of livestock.

4. Main Results of the Census—State Table IX gives figures of cattle in general as also those of ploughs, carts and carriages. The marginal table compares the main figures as revealed in the present census with those of 1920. The agricultural cattle show an increase of 2.5 per cent but the non-agricultural have declined by 8.2 per cent. The largest decline under the agricultural class is amongst he-buffaloes. The decline in the number of cows is serious but is more than made up by an increase in the number of buffaloes. The combined strength of bulls and bullocks has only slightly decreased during the decade, though in reality, the bullocks have increased by about 2 per cent. It should be mentioned here that there was no serious outbreak of disease amongst the cattle during the decade. The increase in the ploughs may to some extent be put down to more land having been brought under cultivation.

Kind of Animals, etc.	Census Year		Variation per cent
	1930	1920	
Agricultural Cattle	**1,379,488**	**1,345,692**	**+ 2.51**
Cows	*178,566*	*194,541*	*— 8.21*
Bulls and Bullocks	*424,870*	*426,258*	*— 0.30*
Buffaloes	*345,040*	*317,553*	*+ 8.65*
He-buffaloes	*12,342*	*16,675*	*— 25.98*
Non-agricultural Cattle	**397,618**	**433,079**	**— 8.18**
Sheep and Goats	*347,077*	*379,324*	*— 8.50*
Horses, Mares and young stock ..	*45,177*	*47,857*	*— 5.60*
Donkeys and Mules	*28,164*	*30,892*	*— 8.83*
Camel	*4,344*	*4,156*	*+ 4.52*
Ploughs (small and big)	**206,113**	**199,640**	**+ 3.24**
Carts and Carriages etc.	**101,596**	**86,541**	**+ 17.39**

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5. Distribution of Cattle per Inhabited House—An inhabited house for census purposes denotes a family. The total number of inhabited houses as ascertained at the present census is 562,798 as against 512,845 of the previous census. The margin compares the distribution of cattle per every 100 inhabited houses for the last two censuses. It will be seen that there are less cattle per family under all heads in the present census, showing thereby that the increase in the livestock has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families, during the present decade.

Kind of Animal, etc.	Number per 100 inhabited houses in	
	1930	1920
Cows	32	36
Bulls and Bullocks	76	83
Calves	31	32
Buffaloes	61	65
He-buffaloes	2	3
Young buffaloes	44	44
Sheep and goats	62	73
Horses, mares and their young stock	8	9
Camels	8	8
Small and big ploughs	37	39
Carts, carriages, etc.	18	17

6. Agricultural Cattle—The major part of the population of the State is agricultural and it is in this connection that we are more concerned with the census of livestock. Though non-agricultural cattle, as at the last census, have been counted this year also, a study of their numbers is not so vital to us as that of the agricultural cattle. We will therefore confine ourselves, in this note, more particularly to a discussion of the sufficiency or otherwise of agricultural and milch cattle.

7. Distribution of Agricultural Cattle by Division—The following Table gives comparative figures of the distribution of agricultural cattle per division :—

Kind	Central Gujarat		South Gujarat		North Gujarat		Kathiawad		Baroda State	
	Number in 1930	Variation per cent since 1920	Number in 1930	Variation per cent since 1920	Number in 1930	Variation per cent since 1920	Number in 1930	Variation per cent since 1920	Number in 1930	Variation per cent since 1920
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Cows	23,487	— 14.6	51,151	— 5.2	76,165	— 8.4	27,813	— 7.1	178,566	— 8.2
Bullocks	110,259	— .8	88,187	+ 9.3	176,698	— .4	39,166	+ 5.5	412,310	+ 1.9
Bulls	734	— 39.1	1,602	— 58.6	6,781	— 40.1	3,433	— 33.5	12,560	— 41.9
Calves	28,710	— 17.1	58,700	+ 1.9	60,091	+ 22.5	23,421	+ 12.7	171,822	+ 5.5
Total	163,140	— 6.5	197,700	+ 1.6	32,585	— .3	93,833	+ .8	775,258	— 1.05
Female buffaloes	93,185	— 17.6	34,906	+ 15.0	198,844	+ 4.2	18,105	+ 4.0	345,040	+ 8.6
Male buffaloes	3,202	— 23.4	2,306	— 22.6	6,105	— 29.0	729	— 11.7	12,342	— 25.9
Young stock	71,224	+ 4.5	24,094	+ 21.9	140,130	+ 8.0	10,500	— .7	246,848	+ 8.8
Total	167,611	+ 10.5	62,206	+ 16.0	345,079	+ 5.1	29,334	+ 1.8	604,230	+ 7.4
Grand Total	1,379,488	+ 1.4	259,906	+ 4.7	665,664	+ 2.4	123,167	+ 1.1	1,379,488	+ 2.5

We have seen already that there has been an aggregate increase of 2.5 per cent in the agricultural cattle and while this increase is the greatest in South Gujarat, being 4.7 per cent, it is the lowest in Kathiawad where it is only 1.1 per cent. Dividing the agricultural cattle into two families *viz.*, the cow and the buffalo, we find the latter has increased by 7.4 per cent while the former has decreased by a little over 1 per cent, though there is a small increase visible in South Gujarat and Kathiawad. Cows have decreased and buffaloes have increased in all the districts. Bullocks have increased in South Gujarat and Kathiawad but Central and North Gujarat register a slight decline. Bulls and male buffaloes have decreased throughout the State in all the districts. Amongst the young stock of both the families, there has been an increase everywhere except that the young stock of cows has decreased in Central Gujarat while that of the buffaloes has declined only slightly in Kathiawad.

8. Distribution of Agricultural Cattle according to Utility—Agricultural cattle may again be divided according to the use. Thus they can be divided into classes like (1) purely agricultural, (2) milk-giving and (3) stock supplying (young stock). The following gives

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the distribution of the cattle by division, as also their variation per cent (given in brackets) since 1920 :—

Division	Agricultural	Milk-giving	Young stock	Proportion of young stock to 1,000 milk-giving cattle
1	2	3	4	5
Central Gujarat	114,195 (—2.1)	116,622 (+9.2)	99,934 (—2.8)	857
South Gujarat	90,155 (+5.0)	86,057 (+2.3)	83,694 (+7.2)	972
North Gujarat	189,534 (—3.9)	275,009 (+0.4)	201,121 (+12.8)	731
Kathiawad	43,328 (+0.5)	45,918 (—3.0)	33,921 (+8.1)	738
Total ..	437,212 (+1.3)	523,606 (+2.2)	418,670 (+7.2)	799

The total number of agricultural cattle is 1,379,488. This shows that 32 per cent of the total belong to the agricultural class ; 38 per cent to the milk-giving class and the remaining 30 per cent cover the young stock. From the above analysis, we find as at the last census, that the milch cattle exceed in number the agricultural ones. Looking to divisional distribution it appears that reverse is the case in South Gujarat only. In the 1920 Census, South Gujarat shared this position with Central Gujarat but the latter appears to have retrieved its position since then, in regard to its milch cattle, though its number of agricultural cattle has decreased in this census. Again Central Gujarat and North Gujarat show a serious decline in agricultural cattle. The floods in 1927 occasioned a serious loss of cattle. The following years were in addition full of hardships to the agriculturists in these districts on account of frost, locusts, fall of prices, etc., and this also led them to part with their valuable cattle more than before. Kathiawad is known for its good breed of cows and buffaloes and the decline there in the milch cattle appears to be purely due to loss through migration. Turning to young stock, we find that Central and South Gujarat have proportionately a greater number of young stock than the other two divisions, which lose through exportation over one-fourth of their number. This points to the conclusion that while Central and South Gujarat replenish their stock of agricultural cattle largely from their indigenous breed, North Gujarat and Kathiawad have to rely at least for more than a quarter of their supply upon adjoining territories for their stock.

9. Agricultural Cattle correlated with Cultivated Land—To determine the scarcity or otherwise of the agricultural cattle, it will be useful here to institute a comparison between the area of cultivated land and the number of agricultural cattle as neither the one nor the other alone is sufficient to arrive at a true solution of the general belief that agricultural cattle are decreasing day by day. The following table correlates the number of agricultural cattle with the area of cultivated land for the past three censuses.

Division	Agricultural cattle and cultivated land (in Bighas)	Census Year		
		1910	1920	1930
Baroda State	Cultivated Area	4,009,962	5,155,276	5,635,096
	Agricultural Cattle	334,801	442,933	437,212
Central Gujarat	Cultivated Area	1,210,617	1,420,916	1,548,986
	Agricultural Cattle	88,657	116,641	114,195
South Gujarat	Cultivated Area	668,069	774,716	832,469
	Agricultural Cattle	69,392	85,844	90,155
North Gujarat	Cultivated Area	1,568,639	2,269,137	2,437,843
	Agricultural Cattle	143,758	197,352	189,534
Kathiawad	Cultivated Area	562,637	690,507	815,798
	Agricultural Cattle	32,994	43,096	43,328

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It will be seen from the above table that there has been a large increase in the cultivated area since the last census but there is not a comparative increase visible in the agricultural cattle. The total strength of agricultural cattle in the State has decreased and so also in all the districts except South Gujarat; but there also, the increase does not appear to be appreciable. Absolute figures however can lead to no true inference of the situation and all agricultural cattle are not plough cattle. We shall therefore try and work out the burden of cultivated area on a pair of bullocks in each district. The margin compares the figures for the last three decades. It appears from the table that the incidence is highest in Kathiawad and lowest in South Gujarat, as usual. The increase in incidence is almost uniform in the Central and North Gujarat while it is the highest in Kathiawad, being 10 bighas more per pair of bullocks and lowest in South Gujarat where it averages 1.6 bighas per pair. In the last census it was found that North Gujarat suffered from deficient supply of bullocks while Kathiawad takes its turn in this census. The higher average in Kathiawad is either due to a steady increase in cultivated area unaccompanied by a similar increase in its bullock supply or to loss through migration. The latter part of the decade was of successive lean years and it had told very heavily on the economic resources of the people. It is very probable therefore that the average is forced up by a loss through migration as the stringent economic conditions might have led people to part with their cattle. The following Table gives comparative figures of the average of cultivated area per pair of bullocks by mahals for the last two censuses.

Year	Baroda State	Central Gujarat	South Gujarat	North Gujarat	Kathiawad
1910 ...	23.9	27.3	19.2	21.8	34.1
1920 ..	23.2	24.3	18.0	23.0	31.6
1930 ..	27.6	28.1	19.6	27.5	41.6

Name of Mahal	Area cultivated per pair of bullock		Name of Mahal	Area cultivated per pair of bullock	
	1930	1920		1930	1920
Central Gujarat			**North Gujarat**		
Baroda	23.3	20.5	Visnagar	22.7	22.1
Tilakwada	23.8	18.2	Patan	22.9	23.7
Sankheda	25.1	23.1	Atarsumba	23.5	16.8
Bhadran	26.1	25.7	Sidhpur	23.1	24.5
Vaghodia	27.0	26.3	Mehsana	25.3	22.2
Petlad	28.7	26.0	Kheralu	26.3	20.8
Sinor	29.5	31.8	Vijapur	27.5	13.2
Padra	29.5	23.6	Dehgam	28.1	27.4
Dabhoi	30.1	23.9	Kalol	29.6	25.1
Karjan	29.5	31.8	Chanasma	33.1	27.0
Savli	33.1	21.2	Kadi	35.2	22.8
			Harij	42.6	28.6
Kathiawad			**South Gujarat**		
Beyt	20.4	16.8			
Kodinar	21.6	17.3	Gandevi	8.7	6.8
Okhamandal	35.9	32.2	Vyara	14.3	14.7
Bhimkatta	38.5	38.9	Navsari	15.4	13.5
Khambha	42.3	38.6	Mahuva	15.7	15.0
Dhari	51.2	35.1	Songadh	17.3	18.1
Damnagar	58.0	45.4	Mangrol	22.5	21.2
Ratanpur	60.7	31.7	Palsana	27.4	24.4
Amreli	61.1	43.2	Kamrej	27.8	26.5

The normal area which a pair of bullocks can easily cultivate is supposed to 20 Bighas. At this rate, it can be seen from the table that almost all the mahals except the first five of South Gujarat lack in a sufficient supply of plough cattle. But this estimate is rather too low as conditions of cultivation vary in different divisions of the State. Some crops do not require much cultivation. In non-irriguous areas, more land could be easily tilled. There is also a practice obtaining in a varying degree to keep the land fallow in the different divisions. After allowing for all these reasons, I think we shall not be far wrong if we assume 30 bighas as the normal area for a pair of plough cattle to till. On this assumption, we find that Savli in Central Gujarat, Chanasma, Kadi and Harij in North Gujarat and all the mahals of Kathiawad except Beyt and Kodinar suffer from a deficiency of plough cattle.

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10. Comparison with British Gujarat—It would be instructive to compare here the burden of a Baroda pair of bullocks with that of British Gujarat. The margin sets out the averages for the Baroda and British Gujarat districts. It will be seen at first sight that the incidence of burden is lighter in this State than in British Gujarat. The smaller average persists in divisions also. The figures are so striking that they do not require explanation.

Baroda State Division	Average land in Bighas cultivated per pair of plough cattle	British Gujarat Division	Average land in Bighas cultivated per pair of plough cattle
Baroda State	**27.6**	**British Gujarat** ..	**28.6**
Baroda Division ..	28.1	Kaira	24.7
Navsari ,, ..	19.6	Surat	21.8
Mehsana ,, ..	27.5	Broach	37.1
Amreli (including Okhamadal)	41.6	Panch Mahals ..	14.6
		Ahmedabad ..	50.8

11. Khatedars and Agricultural Cattle—The figures of *khatedars* as supplied by the Revenue department show that there were in all 357,389 *khatedars* in the State during the year 1930. The agricultural cattle as ascertained in the preceding paragraph include bulls and male buffaloes. But it is well known that bulls and male buffaloes are rarely if ever used as plough cattle. We shall therefore leave them out of account in our correlation of *khatedars* with the agricultural cattle, as the bulls and he-buffaloes that are at all used for the plough are not likely to be more than the bullocks used for other than agricultural purposes. The following Table gives comparative figures of the average number of bullocks per *khata* in the different divisions of the State for the last two censuses.

Division	Khatedars (registered land-holders)	Bullocks (plough-cattle)	Average number of bullocks per khata (1930)	Average number of bullocks per khata (1920)
1	2	3	4	5
Central Gujarat	114,000	110,259	0.97	1.02
South Gujarat	57,029	86,187	1.51	1.45
North Gujarat	166,380	176,698	1.06	1.20
Kathiawad	20,020	39,166	1.95	2.06
Total ..	**357,429**	**412,310**	**1.15**	**1.23**

We see at a glance that the situation on the whole is worse than that disclosed at the preceding census. The average of bullock per *khata* in Central Gujarat has fallen from 1.02 to .97. This means that a large number of *khatedars* has to be without enough plough cattle for cultivation; it may be, this is so, because of the greater proportion of small holdings there. The condition of North Gujarat also cannot be said to be satisfactory. The South Gujarat average shows a progress and has increased from 1.45 to 1.51. In Kathiawad, the *khatedars* have just sufficient cattle for their plough but as we shall see later on, the pair there has to till the largest extent of land compared to other districts.

12. Agricultural Implements (Ploughs)—The following Table determines the sufficiency or otherwise of the ploughs and the area cultivated per plough :—

Division	Bullocks	Number of ploughs	Average number of bullocks per plough	Ploughs necessary in proportion to number of bullocks	Area cultivated per plough (Bighas)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Central Gujarat	110,259	58,463	1.8	55,129	26.5
South Gujarat	86,187	39,266	2.1	43,093	21.2
North Gujarat	176,698	89,705	1.9	88,349	27.2
Kathiawad	39,166	17,816	2.2	19,583	47.5

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It will be seen from the table that Central and North Gujarat have a sufficient supply of ploughs but not of bullocks while South Gujarat and Kathiawar have less ploughs than are essential for the agricultural purposes, though having regard to the area cultivated per plough in Kathiawad, the supply of bullocks cannot be said to be satisfactory. The system of *sāndhal* (co-operative use of bullocks by owners of one bullock) prevailing to some extent in Central and North Gujarat among *khatedars* of small holdings makes up for the deficiency in plough cattle in those divisions. On the whole therefore the situation can be said to be normal, if we take into consideration the quality of the soil, the seasons of cultivation, the use of harrow in some places, the system of keeping the land fallow, etc., prevailing to more or less extent in the different divisions.

13. Milch Cattle—Turning to milch cattle, we find that on the whole there has been an increase of 2.2 per cent amongst them since 1920. We have also seen that the cows have decreased while buffaloes have increased in all the districts. The following Table shows the number of cows and buffaloes by divisions as also the average number of *khatedars* who have one cow or one buffalo between them :—

Division	Cows	She buffaloes	Total	Number of khatedars who have between them			
				One cow		One buffalo	
				1930	1920	1930	1920
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Central Gujarat	23,437	93,185	116,622	4.9	3.9	1.2	1.3
South Gujarat	51,151	34,906	86,057	1.1	0.9	1.6	1.7
North Gujarat	76,165	198,844	275,009	2.2	1.7	0.8	0.7
Kathiawad	27,813	18,105	45,918	0.7	0.5	1.1	0.9
Total ..	**178,566**	**345,040**	**523,606**	**2.0**	**1.6**	**1.0**	**1.0**

These statistics show that Central Gujarat is less inclined towards breeding of the cows. It has one cow only between 5 of its *khatedars*. Kathiawad alone has more than one cow per *khata* while in South Gujarat, there is almost one cow per *khata*. North Gujarat has one cow between 2.2 *khatedars*. In regard to buffaloes, however, North Gujarat stands first. Every *khatedar* there has one buffalo and more. The condition in Central Gujarat and Kathiawad almost approaches equality while in South Gujarat almost one-third of the *khatedars* are without a buffalo. That the general situation, however, in regard to the supply of milch cattle to *khatedars*, is worse than at the last census will be clearly seen from the comparative figures given in the above table.

14. Cattle Breeding : (a) *Cows*—The following Table gives the figures regarding the sufficiency or otherwise of the bulls required for purposes of breeding with comparative figures of the preceding census :—

Division	Bulls	Cows	Number of cows per one bull	Number of cows per one bull
	1930		1930	1920
Central Gujarat	734	23,437	31	22
South Gujarat	1,662	51,151	30	13
North Gujarat	6,731	76,165	11	7
Kathiawad	3,433	27,813	8	5

It will be seen that the condition in this respect appears to be worse than 1920. Central and South Gujarat divisions do not have a sufficient supply of bulls. The low proportion of cows per bull in North Gujarat and Kathiawad at the last census was doubted but that it was not so will be evident from the proportions worked out for this census ; but it is evident that the supply of bulls in both these divisions has diminished to a large extent.

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(b) *Buffaloes*—In respect of bull buffaloes, South Gujarat fares better than other divisions. Next comes Kathiawad with 24 buffaloes to a bull followed by Central and North Gujarat with 29 and 32 buffaloes to a bull. From a reference to figures in both these tables, it appears that Central Gujarat needs both bulls and he-buffaloes and that too of a nobler breed while South Gujarat needs bulls, North Gujarat falls short of good male buffaloes. Kathiawad has got a goodly number of bulls but lacks in male buffaloes.

Natural Division	1930		1930	1920
	Bull Buffaloes	Buffaloes	Average number of buffaloes per one male buffalo	Average number of buffaloes per one male buffalo
Central Gujarat ..	3,202	93,185	29	19
South Gujarat ..	2,306	34,906	15	13
North Gujarat ..	6,105	198,844	32	22
Kathiawad ..	729	18,105	24	21

What is wanted however for a better breed of the agricultural cattle is not the number of bulls but the supply of a superior breed of them. It is worthy of note here that the Agricultural department of the State has directed its attention towards this object and arranged to supply a superior breed of Kankrej and Gir bulls to villages which need them, under the rules framed in this behalf.

15. Population and Milk-Supply—The question of milch cattle leads us to the consideration of milk supply in relation to the population of the State. The following Table gives the comparative proportions of persons per each head of milch cattle and supply of milk per head of population :—

Division	Milch cattle: cows and buffaloes	Population 1931	Proportion of persons per each head of milch cattle		Daily supply of milk in the State in seers	Average supply per individual in seers	
			1931	1921		1931	1921
Central Gujarat	116,622	824,341	7.3	6.6	443,889	0.54	0.54
South Gujarat	86,057	404,377	4.6	4.0	272,169	0.67	0.75
North Gujarat	275,009	1,010,007	3.4	3.3	894,798	0.88	0.95
Kathiawad	45,918	204,282	4.4	3.8	206,631	1.01	1.06
Total	**523,606**	**2,443,007**	**4.6**	**4.1**	**1,817,487**	**0.74**	**0.79**

Unlike all other divisions, Kathiawad has more cows than buffaloes. A cow however does not give as much milk as a buffalo; of the two the latter is the more important. In order therefore to properly assess the quantity of milk supply, we will have to fix values for their capacity to supply milk. At the last census, it was assumed that " in Kathiawad, the cows can rightly be considered equal in milk supply to the buffaloes of that division. North Gujarat cows are useless for milk giving purposes, and can safely be ignored. In the remaining two divisions from the point of view of milk giving proportion, the cows may be considered in ratio of four cows to one buffalo in Central Gujarat and two in South Gujarat". According to the above computation of the number of milch cattle and taking an average supply of 4½ seers of milk per day per each head of cattle, the average supply of milk per head of population comes to three quarters of seer per day in the State. Kathiawad has got the highest supply, it being one seer per head. Central Gujarat supply is the least while that in North and South Gujarat is .67 and .54 seers respectively. Comparing the present average with that during the previous decade we find that the situation is worse in all the districts except in Central Gujarat where it has continued to be the same. Milk is an important item of nourishment for life and should therefore earnestly engage the attention of both the Government and the people to improve its supply particularly as the belief is growing that coming generations are deteriorating in healthiness day by day.

16. Conclusion—Before closing however, it must be mentioned that though the decade was a fairly healthy one, it did not result in a relative rise in the supply of agricultural cattle. The deficiency appears to be due to loss through migration, consequent on the close succession of years of depression during the latter part of the decade, which forced the people to part with their cattle more than before. Ten years is too long a period to assess the sufficiency or otherwise of the agricultural stock and the contributory causes leading thereto. It is therefore once again suggested and hoped that Government will order the census of livestock to be taken every five years to get at the real state of things.

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APPENDIX V

FOOD SURVEY OF PRINCIPAL CASTES IN BARODA STATE

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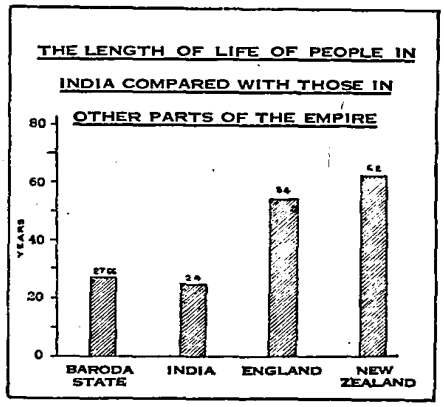
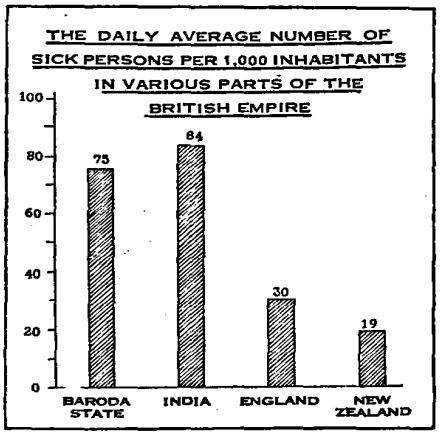
1. General Considerations : Introductory—Individual and communal efficiency depend primarily upon the health and strength of the populace, and these in turn, to a material extent, upon its dietary. Food provides not only heat and energy but also body-building tissue and bone-building calcium. Usage and tradition have tested the utility of foods and have accustomed particular people to particular dietaries. Hence the difference that obtains between diets according to climate, region, race or religion. Any deviation from the tested path, if not demonstrably for the better, is bound to lead to malnutrition and contribute to a slackening of growth and efficiency and a shortening of the span of life. The marginal diagrams will show how we stand in comparison with the rest of India and other countries in this latter connection.



It is not even that this short span of life is full of sweetness and fragrance like that of the Alpine flower. The Raj and India generally are more prone to ill-health than other countries. Taking the same countries into account the position stands :—



It is obvious then that life in Baroda though capable of showing a better statistical position than that in the rest of India, is both short and miserably lived. The principles underlying the maintenance of bodily health are either not known or the knowledge being there, are incapable of being observed.

2. Food Composition—Confining attention to dietetics for the present, foodstuffs can be classified into fats, carbohydrates, proteins, essential salts, vitamins and water—the food sextet. It is the difference in the proportions constituting the article under examination that accounts for its characteristic appearance, flavour or taste. Human physique and human mind being in need of a certain proportion of each under varying conditions of climate, exertion, etc., it is necessary so to choose one's food as to supply them with these in the correct compound so as to obviate any chance of malnutrition and consequently of disease, ill-health or premature death arising,* plant or animal organism can neither come into existence, nor grow nor function in the absence of a supply of certain basic chemical elements. Life will cease if the supply is discontinued. Disease will result if the supply is deficient or ill-balanced in its chemical composition. A recent authority thus tabulates the Food composition, its uses, and requirements.†

* For statement showing sources of food elements, see Statement C at the end.

† Strong A. G. *Domestic Science*, p. 226.

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Elements composing Our Food	Form in which they occur	Daily amount required by an Adult	The Use our bodies make of them
1. Hydrogen (H) 2. Oxygen (O)	Water	3 seers	Body regulator, carrying food to the tissues and waste away from them.
1. Hydrogen (H) 2. Oxygen (O) 3. Carbon (C)	Carbohydrates (*a*) Sugar, starches (*b*) Cellulose	67 per cent of diet 360 to 450 grams.	(*a*) Gives heat and energy measured by calories. (*b*) Roughage.
1. Hydrogen (H) 2. Oxygen (O) 3. Carbon (C)	*Fats* and oils and sometimes organic acids.	17 per cent of diet. 80 to 90 grams.	Gives heat and energy measured by calories.
1. Hydrogen (H) 2. Oxygen (O) 3. Carbon (C) 4. Nitrogen (N) — Principally	*Proteins.* Built up from amino acids by plants and animals.	10 to 15 per cent of diet. 90 to 100 grams.	(1) Builds body tissues for growth and repair. (2) Also gives heat and energy measured by calories.
5. Sulphur (S) 6. Iron Fe. 7. Phosphorus (P) 8. Calcium (Ca) 9. Potassium (K) 10. Sodium (Na) 11. Chlorine (Cl) 12. Iodine (I) — Small amounts / Occasionally.	*Ash.* Constitutes partly as mineral salts and partly in combination with carbohydrates, fats, proteins and other organic compounds.	.67 (CaO) 1.32 (P_2O_5). .015 (Fe.)	Body regulators, and also important for body structure.
Vitamins	A, B, C, D, E..	Daily supply required, as they cannot be stored by the body.	Regulate metabolism promote growth and reproduction. Protect from deficiency diseases.

3. Functions of Food—Human food in fact has a four-fold function to perform—(*i*) to supply the elements necessary to build up living cells, (*ii*) to supply the energy and heat necessary for movement and action, internal and external, (*iii*) to regulate the vital processes of the body in such a harmonious manner as to give the body a tone of health and well-being, and lastly (*iv*) to add to the joys of life.

4. Energy value: calories—Like all other scientists, the bio-chemist adopts a unit of measurement—a yardstick—to test the adequacy or otherwise of the heat and energy value of diet to cater to these requirements. He reduces all foods to their calorie value. Technically a calorie is a unit of heat or energy sufficient to raise the temperature of a pound of water by 4 degrees Fahrenheit or a Kilogram of water to one degree Centigrade. It has been demonstrated by experiments upon respiration calorimeters that food consumed in the body gives off approximately the same amount of heat or energy as when burnt in a calorimeter. The bio-chemist has thus determined the actual calorie consumption of food per hour as under :—

APPROXIMATE AVERAGE OF THE ENERGY EXPENDITURE PER HOUR, UNDER DIFFERING CONDITIONS OF ACTIVITY, OF AN AVERAGE SIZED MAN IN BARODA, WEIGHING 55 KILOGRAMS (121 lbs.):—

Condition of Activity	Calories per hour
Sleeping	50–55
Awake, lying still	55–70
Sitting at rest	80
Standing at rest	90
Tailoring (Darji)	105
Type-writing rapidly	110
Book Binding	135
Light exercise	135
Severe exercise	355
Sawing wood	380
Shoemaking (Mochi)	140
Walking slowly about 2¼ miles per hour	160
Carpentering	190
Active exercise	230
Walking rapidly about 3¼ miles per hour	235
Stone working	315
Running 5¼ miles per hour	395
Very severe exercise	470

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Nor does this consumption depend upon activity or want of it alone. Age is a vital factor determining calorie need. The growing child, for example, needs over and above the usual ration for heat and energy and replacement of worn out tissues, from fifteen per cent of energy value of the food, to forty per cent of protein, for purposes of growth alone. After the first year while the allowance of food per unit of time may increase, it decreases per unit of weight. This requirement may be tabulated as under :—

Age under	Calories	
	Per kilogram	Per lb.
1 Year	100	45
1— 2 Years	100—90	45—40
2— 5 ,, ...	90—80	40—36
6— 9 ,, ...	80—70	36—32
10—13 ,, ...	75—60	34—27
14—17 ,, ...	65—53	32—30
18—25 ,, ...	55—40	25—18

For boys and girls of growing age, in colder countries, the caloric requirements have been computed as under. It is necessary to point out that taking infants as proportions of adults as regards caloric needs is utterly misleading. The food requirements of a family demand calculation with reference to each individual constituent of the family, considered in relation to age, sex, occupation, physical exertion, etc. :—

Age	Sex	Calorie consumption per day
1—2	Both	1000—1200
2—5		1200—1500
6—9		1400—2000
10—13	Girls	1800—2400
	Boys	2300—3000
14—17	Girls	2200—2600
	Boys	2800—4000

Calories, however, though an important and for the dietician an indispensable unit of measurement, should not occupy the whole of the canvas. Caloric measurement is only a quantitative test. Healthy functioning depends upon calories generated from particular elements in particular proportions. Thus calories generated from carbohydrates could never replace those generated from proteins. Each group has its assigned function to perform and it is quite possible to overfeed a man calorifically until he starves to death. Voit relates, how an English physician died a victim to his own experiment of nourishing himself on sugar alone for a month—a diet which undoubtedly supplied him with the required number of calories. For whereas the sugar would generate heat and energy to keep the physical machine going, the absence of a tissue building protein together with that of the soluble vitamins and the regulating salts, meant that he subjected himself continuously to a state of nutritic starvation. Mrs. Strong's studies for Baroda show that though rice would cost only an anna per 1000 calories, *ghee* five annas and three pies, and milk five annas and nine pies, for an equal number of calories we find that not even the poorest family lives exclusively on rice. Resort is always had to other articles in however deficient a quantity, and however poor a quality. One of these essential substances is protein.

5. Proteins—Investigations show that the protein requirements of the body can be set out with fair precision. Recent experiments have demonstrated the enormous waste that an unnecessarily high proteid diet used to entail, *inter alia*, by reason of an immense strain upon the digestion to grind up food in quantities that the body could not possibly absorb. "A daily metabolism of proteid matter equal to an exchange of 0.10 to 0.12 grams of nitrogen per kilogram of body weight is quite adequate for physiological needs, provided a sufficient amount of non-nitrogenous foods—fats and carbohydrates—is taken to meet the energy requirements of the body [1]. An allowance of 60 grams is thus theoretically adequate, but a margin of safety

1. Chittenden: *The Nutrition of Man*, p. 227.

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in addition to this is necessary. Mrs. Strong puts this figure at 75 grams, and it is proposed to adopt this as the standard requirement for this study. Proteins again differ materially *inter se*. Animal proteins containing certain animo-acids being nearly of the same composition as human tissue are the most suitable—vegetable proteins less so. Lusk is emphatic upon giving milk, egg, fish and meat proteins a higher value over those from wheat, *dal*, potato, maize, etc., though this should by no means suggest that it is impossible to obtain sufficient proteins from exclusively vegetable sources. Milk is an ideal food, containing the required substances in an ideal blend, and should provide a good corrective to an otherwise ill-balanced vegetable diet.

6. Vitamins—Almost equal emphasis should be laid upon the necessity of including vitamins in the diet. McCullom in the course of his bio-chemic experiments, found that a group of rats when given a diet containing 1½ per cent butter thrived and reproduced their species. When however 5 per cent vegetable oil was substituted for the butter, metabolism ceased, and so did reproduction. The reason obviously was the absence of a substance which butter fat possesses and vegetable oil does not. Five different varieties of these were, later found in different natural unrefined foods—all very essential for the maintenance of health, growth and reproduction since their absence in diet invariably led to disease of one sort or another.

7. Mineral Salts—Besides these, are necessary the mineral salts. The natural human instinct for sodium chloride—the common table salt—is very suggestive. All natural foods possess this element, and a properly selected natural diet would contain enough salt for nutritive purposes. Modern dietaries lack this mineral element and we supply the deficiency to a certain extent by adding salt at the table. The minerals that are necessary may be listed as potassium, magnesium, sulphur, iodine, phosphorous, calcium, iron, chlorine, sodium, etc. The three most important constituents in which human diet is likely to be deficient are calcium, phosphorous and iron, each of these forming a constituent of our bones, tissue and blood.

8. Prefatory Note upon the Investigation: The Collection of the Data—By order of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, a dietetic survey of the whole Raj was undertaken along with the general census operations. The purpose was to investigate into the sufficiency or otherwise of the nutritive value of the food, normally consumed by His Highness's subjects. A questionnaire was issued to the census committees in two parts, the first of a general nature, the second relating to articles composing the dietary, their quantity and quality with reference to each group or caste in the taluka. 23 dietaries have been thus examined.

9. Limitations of the data—It needs of course to be realised that a dietetic survey is more likely to give precise results if entrusted as his whole time work to a bio-chemist than when entrusted as a side-issue to a statistician. The *piece de resistance* is in the collection of data. It is, in the first place, impossible to give the exact weight or measurement of the quantity taken per day particularly with reference to the non-standardised non-commercialised home prepared dietary of the Indian. The quantity bought at the grocers can hardly furnish a clue, as the edible portion in many cases may differ, both as regards chemical properties as well as measurement, from the quantity purchased. When the unit of measurement is the daily dietary, as it was with regard to the present investigation, each little inaccuracy contributes towards swelling the margin of error in the monthly dietary. And the month has to be brought in as the intermediate unit if the occasional deviations from the normal beaten track are to be taken into consideration. The usually rice and *bajri* eating Patidar indulges not infrequently in wheat and *kodri* and the Brahmabhat in wheat and *bavata*. This applies with greater force to the non-vegetarian portion of the population. Mainly, it seems, because of economic reasons the deviation from vegetarianism is fairly unusual and if the Parsis and to a less extent Mahomedans are excepted, indulgence in non-vegetarian diet in the normally accepted European sense of the term—fish and meat for each of the two meals and eggs for breakfast—is wholly absent. The Rajput takes meat and fish but once a week, and eggs but once a fortnight, while the Bhangi and the Dhed resort to a smaller quantity of it even less frequently.

10. Difficulties in assigning Chemical Values—It is necessary to make a reference to the enormous difficulty encountered in the process of reducing the food articles to their chemical values. Bio-chemistry is in its infancy in India, and barring exceptions little work has been done upon Indian foodstuffs. Results are available, no doubt, of tests made in English or American laboratories upon their own foods. Naturally enough, they concentrate upon the standardised marketable packet foods or restaurant served varieties —hardly applicable to our conditions. Again when equivalents are found for articles common to both dietaries, it is but to be expected that their values differ because of climatic factors and dietetic requirements of the people. An American Mutton chop, for example, has a caloric value of 1660 calories per lb., contains 15 per cent of protein and 31.4 per cent of fat, while the leanest portion, the leg, generating 795 calories will have 18.6 per cent protein and 27.4

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per cent fat[1]. The Indian meat on the other hand equals between 576 and 672 in fuel value, has between 21.05 and 25.26 per cent protein and between 4.38 and 7.88 per cent of fat[2]. Even in cases where Indian values are available, the regional peculiarities make varieties different in their chemical value and it is the sphere of the food chemist to say whether or not the varieties examined in Coonoor—values whereof have here been adopted—have the same chemical values as those applicable in the different portions of the Raj. Attempt has of course been made to obtain Indian values wherever possible, but in some cases, resort had to be had—particularly regarding the examination of mineral salt contents—to some American analysis.

11. Analysis of Diets : Foodstuffs of Common Consumption—Several articles, it will be observed from the tables, are common to all castes. Amongst these are rice, *dal* (pulse), potatoes, greens and one or more cereals—either wheat or *juwar* or *bajri*. So also are the dressings and seasoning substances like chillies, spices, salt, oil and *ghee*. Some of the latter, oil and *ghee*, for example, though not eaten mainly for their food value contribute materially to it. Thus whereas a lb. of greens—the eggplant has been taken as a representative sample—generates 130 calories energy, a tola and a quarter of oil or a tola and half of *ghee* or three tolas of chillies or spices—pepper taken as representative—used to season the greens, generate as much more. In broad terms it may be laid down that the main energy providing substances are rice, *dal* and one or more other cereals,—wheat being a luxury to all except the higher castes,—while *dal* and milk with curds occasionally thrown in, provide for the protein requirements. In themselves these latter would be woefully deficient in protein, considering that their intake is very limited by reason of their bulk. Cereals also contribute a large part of the protein intake. This of course takes it for granted that they are consumed in their normal and unrefined state, so as not to deprive them of their natural constituents.

12. Diets in different Castes—Of the selected castes whose dietary was finally submitted for examination, a dozen are vegetarians and an equal number non-vegetarian, the whole group constituting 46 per cent of the population of the Raj. The presence of Thakardas, Muslims, Rajputs, Bhils and Dheds in the latter category however accounts for their constituting a major proportion of the dietaries analysed, *i.e.*, 30.03 per cent of the population or 69.5 per cent of those under survey. Table A (Summary Table) shows the whole position at a glance. It requires however to be supplemented by an explanatory note. The requisite standard has been taken at the minimum necessary for maintenance of human health, on the basis propounded by Mrs. A. G. Strong, formerly Director, Household Arts, in the State. The figures that she sets out, however, *viz.*, 2,500 to 3,000 calories of fuel value, 75-90 grams of protein, .45 to .67 grams of calcium, 1·44 grams of phosphorous and .015 grams of iron, make no allowance for wastage. It has been proved though, that not all the food intake is likely to be assimilated in the system. It is usual therefore " to deduct 10 per cent from the theoretical caloric value of a mixed diet to allow for the loss due to non-assimilation which is more marked on a vegetable than on an animal diet[3] ". Colonel McCarrison, the Director of Nutritional Research at the Pasteur Institute, Coonoor, applies this wastage allowance with uniform regularity. After reducing the dietary to its daily chemical value, 10 per cent has, in every case, been deducted to provide for this wastage, and the remainder tested against the standard set by Mrs. Strong. This seems to be the fairest procedure, since, it is not so much the mere intake, as the actual function of the intake in a normal human organism, that should be the purpose of a dietetic survey. Mrs. Strong's standards have thus been taken as criteria of effective consumption or in other words of actual absorption necessary into the system. That this was her intention is evident from the values assigned by her to a minimum and a maximum diet theoretically planned by her, where the values compare as under[4] :—

	Calories	Protein grams	Calcium	Phospho-rous grams	Iron
Maximum	2,562	75	.47	.107	.016
Maximum	3,077	93	1.05	2.434	.030

These, it should be noted, are the absorption standards for a clerk, *i.e.*, for a man of sedentary pursuits. Not all the castes here scheduled however are prone to pursuits involving physical non-activity, and it is quite conceivable that for healthy functioning of the human machine,

1. Macfadden : *Encyclopædia of Physical Culture*, Volume II, page 812.
2. McCarrison R. : *Food*, page 115 *et seq.*
3. Mukerji Radhakamal : *Food and Food Requirements of Indian Labourers ;* paper submitted to the 15th Indian Economic Conference, 1932.
4. Strong, A. G. : Indian Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, p. 184

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absorption should increase *pari passu* with the expenditure of energy involved in an active avocation. The largest group of people amongst the vegetarians, the Lewa Patidars, are thus cultivators and not clerks, and it would have been only fair to judge their effective consumption against a high standard—say 2,750-3,000 calories and 90 grams of protein, etc. The same remarks apply to the varied categories of Brahmans, few of whom pursue their traditional calling. Amongst the non-vegetarians, but few may belong to sedentary professions, for a bulk of them are petty traders, cultivators, weavers and agricultural labourers[1]. There were two motives however in making the minimum, as against a flexible adaptable standard, the touchstone. The questionnaires issued in the first place had taken account of only certain items of food, to the exclusion of others. Thus tea, sugar and butter milk, to common knowledge though figuring on the menu of every caste, fail to appear on the questionnaire, and if not the first two, the last is certainly an item of considerable importance from the dietetist's point of view, especially when its almost general use is borne in mind. Again, with such of the data as is collected, the margin of error in measurement needs to be accounted for in view of the agency employed to gather the information. Secondly, it was felt that the strictest fairness and impartiality could be betrayed by the adoption of a minimum standard, and not a flexible one, where there may creep in a chance of previous prejudices—nurtured upon the catchword of "India's starving millions"—influencing the judgment in assigning absorption level to each caste individually.

13. Calories in Foods of Different Castes—Examining Table A, in few instances it will be noted, does the calorie value exceed the minimum requirement. Amongst the vegetarians, the Patidar, the Audich Brahman and the Dasha Lad Vania belong to that category; amongst the non-vegetarians, the Thakardas and the Golas. The range of such excess is however very limited, being from 86 to 216 in the first category and from 183 to 317 in the second. In terms of *tolas* of rice, these calories mean at their highest $216 \div 45$, *i.e.* 4.8 and $317 \div 45$ *i.e.*, 7.04. The deficiencies however are the usual feature, ranging from 24 calories among the Anavala Brahmans to 465 amongst the Kachhiyas, and from 34 amongst the Muslims to 1165 amongst the Dublas. The vegetarian is defective up to $465.5 \div 45$, *i.e.*, 10.3 and the non-vegetarian up to $1165.1 \div 45$, *i.e.*, 25.8 *tolas* of rice per day. This, if anything, corroborates Mrs. Strong's analysis in 1920 of the military rations, where the combatants fall short in their diet by 100 calories, and the non-combatants by as many as 433 calories. The analysis made by a bio-chemist in Madras, of an average non-vegetarian Hindu diet indicates a similar deficiency in calorie value, though the standard against which the diet was tested here was nearer 3,000 than 2,500[2].

14. Protein Consumption—Coming to proteins, the analysis unfolds a more doleful tale The vegetarians barring two exceptions,—Lewa Patidars and Audich Brahmans,—are all under provided. The surplus though, in the case of the Patidars and Audich Brahmans, of 6.38 and 4.42 equals $6.38 \div 2.40$ and $4.42 \div 2.40$—no more than 2.65 and 1.85 *tolas* of meat. The deficiencies range from 3.70 *tolas* for Brahmabhats to 19.26 *tolas* for Kansaras. The Patidar's position is the strongest by virtue of his consumption of *dal*, milk and curds, and though other castes resort to these three articles too, their consumption is limited both in quantity and frequency. This only illustrates the point previously set out, *viz.* that milk and milk products alone can provide an appropriate corrective to a vegetarian diet. The non-vegetarians are in this regard better situated with four castes enjoying a surplus of from 1.02 grams to 21.02, equal in meat value to .45 to 8.76 *tolas*. It will be noticed though that except in the case of the Parsi where the percentage is 41.1 and the Mahomedan whose percentage is 27.3, the proportion the non-vegetarian group of foods contributes to the total protein supply is very limited. And since none of them resort to milk products in as large quantities as the vegetarians do, it may be suggested that it is only to supply the want of animo-acids in their otherwise vegetarian diet deficient in milk proteins, that they have recourse to animal food. It is even possible that the fact that the vegetarians fail to get any complete protein from the source of the bulk of their protein supply, which milk is not, leaves their diet, theoretically at least, more deficient than that of the non-vegetarians who do get a small supply of these complete proteins.

15. Calcium in Vegetarian Diet—With regard to calcium, *dal*, milk and curds again constitute the principal sources of supply. The Patidars score again with a surplus of .225, *i.e.*, 50 per cent of the requirement. It is to be noted that of the monthly supply of 22.473 grams in case of the Lewa Patidar these three items account for no less than 19.98, *i.e.*, 88.88 per cent—and with regard to the Nagar for 16.40 out of a total 19.54, *i.e.*, 83.8 per cent. Similarly the use of milk and curds puts the Deccani Brahman in a favourable situation. The diets deficient in calcium, it will be found, are deficient also in milk and curds, *dal* being included

[1] *Vide* Table XI, Volume XIX, Census of India: Baroda, 1931.

[2] McCarrison Robert: *Food* (1928), p. 114.

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everywhere in a smaller or larger quantity. An inspection of the non-vegetarian diets—most of them poor in calcium—confirms this statement. For though the Parsi and the Mahomedan diets show a substantial consumption of non-vegetarian foods, their values remain more or less deficient in respect of this substance. If some intrusion upon the sphere of the bio-chemist is permitted, it may be suggested that the typical tall and broad structure of the Patidar has some correlation with the sufficiency of his calcium supply which goes to give tone to his bony frame-work.

16. Phosphorous-producing Foods—By far the strongest position obtains with regard to phosphorous supply, amongst the vegetarians particularly. Only the Kachhiya, the Bhavsar and the Kansara has a small deficiency, while the surpluses range from .180 in the case of Nagar Brahmans to .590 in the case of Brahmabhats. It is notable that Mrs. Strong's analysis gave a similar surplus in phosphorous, not only in the case of the better fed military combatant, but even regarding the apparently half-starved follower*. The most potent source of phosphorous is *dal*, with wheat and *bajri* closely following. These being the principal items in a vegetarian dietary, the surplus can be easily explained. Coming to the non-vegetarians, the position becomes less favourable with six of the eleven castes suffering a substantial deficiency ranging from .126 to .581 grams whilst the rest enjoy a surplus between .235 and .351 grams. It will be noted that the deficient diets err in respect of a shorter than usual supply of *dal*, and often a total absence of wheat. Though milk and curds contribute towards phosphorous supply, the gap left by *dal*, wheat and *bajri* is difficult to fill up. And animal food even amongst the bulk of the non-vegetarians is too poor in quantity to compensate for the absence of other phosphorescent items.

17. Shortage of Iron—Iron appears to suffer a general deficiency, as great as that of protein. Only the Audich Brahmans and the Nagars have a small surplus and the deficiency among the rest ranges from .0007 to .0054 in a total requisite supply of .015 grams. *Dal*, wheat and salt are the principal sources in order of importance amongst the vegetarians. The consumption of salt being for obvious reasons limited, the Audichas by reason of a liberal supply of both and the Nagars for whom wheat constitutes a major portion of their total cereal supply find themselves favourably situated, whilst the Patidar who consumes no less of *dal* than the other neighbouring castes, suffers a deficit—the only one in his dietary,—because of his confining wheat to occasional use only. Amongst the non-vegetarians the surplus occurs only with castes in habitual use of mutton, etc.—the Mahomedan and the Parsi. In their case too, to this source—meat and eggs—is added a moderately liberal supply of wheat and *dals*. It is noticeable that even amongst the Parsis, the non-vegetarian items do not account for more than .25 grams of iron out of a total monthly supply of .71 grams, whilst wheat happens to be the largest single supplier of the substance.

18. Vitamins: the Absence of a Measure—With regard to the presence of vitamins in the diet, it is regrettable that no yardstick to measure their presence quantitatively is available. The substance did not occur in the bio-chemist's stock of trade until after the World War, when the effect of deviations from natural foods was studied as an important dietetic problem. Only recently have five Vitamins been isolated and their function, in promoting and regulating health, metabolism, reproduction, etc. determined. Though cereals and pulses do contain them in small quantities, it is mostly animal products like milk, curds, *ghee*, mutton and eggs which possess them in any abundance. Other articles of diet being the same, non-vegetarians will therefore enjoy an advantage over their vegetarian brethren, in respect of vitamin supply. Considered generally, however, it seems very unlikely that the substance is available in adequate proportions. A rough test the bio-chemist applies to ascertain the presence of vitamins is whether the food is taken in its natural form and bears the mineral salts normally occurring in it. When the germ is removed from the grain, for example from the wheat, in the process of bleaching the flour or of polishing the rice, the effects are baneful both upon the salts and the vitamins. If this principle is acceptable—that the presence of salts will insure the presence of vitamins alongside, a deficiency in the salt supply can only lead us to conclude that the vitamin allowance is also short.

19. Conclusion: the Ideal Diet—Considered in broad aspects, the survey gives rather alarming results. The Audich Brahmans alone emerge successful through the test,—though with a very narrow margin sometimes—with the Lewa Patidars close upon their heels. The reasons for the deficit may be variously stated from rank poverty in the case of Dublas to ignorance of dietetic principles in the case of the Parsis. The narrow uniformity of the diet is another notable feature, though the want of scope in the questionnaire may have a great deal to do with the results obtained. It seems certainly essential that His Highness's subjects should

* *Vide* article in the Indian Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, p. 184.

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eat more food of better quality, greater variety and richer chemical worth. It will not be out of place to conclude with a daily dietary theoretically applicable to India as devised by a bio-chemist (Colonel McCarrison). It will be noted that his requisite standard is far higher than that adopted for the purposes of our test*.

Foodstuff	Amount in Ounces	In Grammes			Calories
		Proteins	Fats	Carbohydrates	
Atta	12	48.80	6.48	244.2	1,222
Rice : home pounded	6	13.80	0.51	133.8	595
Meat (Mutton)	2	11.94	3.96	0.0	84
Milk	20	18.80	20.40	27.2	360
Vegetable oil	1	0.00	28.00	0.0	252
Ghee	1.5	0.00	34.60	0.0	312
Root vegetables	8	4.40	0.36	31.8	148
Cabbage	8	3.10	0.24	10.2	56
Mango	4	0.16	0.88	20.8	92
Dal	1	6.50	0.99	16.2	100
	63.5	105.50	96.42	484.2	3,221
Less 10 per cent for waste	6.3	10.50	9.64	48.4	322
Total ..	57.2	95.00	86.78	435.8	2,899

* McCarrison Robert : *Food* page 113.

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TABLE A

Daily Effective Consumption in Diets of Selected Castes

Caste	Percentage of Population	Calories	Surplus + or Deficiency —	Proteins (grams)	Surplus + or Deficiency —
1	2	3	4	5	6
Vegetarian					
Lewa Patidar	9.28	2,692.04	+ 192.04	81.38	+ 6.38
Audich Brahman	1.85	2,836.00	+ 86.00	79.42	+ 4.42
Shravak Vania	1.39	2,079.10	— 430.90	60.03	— 14.97
Goldsmith	.54	2,367.90	— 132.10	64.91	— 11.01
Brahmabhat	.41	2,152.50	— 347.50	71.30	— 3.70
Anavla	.48	2,476.00	— 24.00	70.70	— 4.30
Deccani Brahman	.42	2,430.30	— 219.70	66.23	— 13.77
Nagar Brahman	.33	2,292.30	— 207.70	66.22	— 9.78
Lad Vania	.31	2,716.50	+ 216.50	65.16	— 9.84
Kachhiya	.33	2,284.50	— 465.50	58.07	— 16.93
Bhavsar	.24	2,216.80	— 284.20	55.90	— 19.10
Kansara	.08	2,158.00	— 342.00	55.74	— 19.26
Non-Vegetarian					
Thakarda	7.78	2,817.70	+ 317.70	79.87	+ 4.87
Muslim	7.47	2,465.47	— 34.53	84.67	+ 9.67
Dhed	4.37	1,719.00	— 781.00	52.65	— 22.44
Rajput	3.88	2,139.10	— 620.90	61.05	— 18.95
Bhil	2.23	2,146.55	— 353.45	63.94	— 12.06
Bhangi	1.26	1,476.60	— 1,023.40	36.20	— 38.80
Valand	1.14	1,676.70	— 823.30	42.21	— 32.79
Maratha	.69	2,354.40	— 381.00	71.58	— 3.42
Dubla	.52	1,334.90	— 1,165.10	41.39	— 34.07
Parsi	.29	2,154.70	— 345.30	96.02	+ 21.02
Gola	.26	2,683.10	+ 183.10	76.02	+ 1.02

Caste	Calcium (grams)	Surplus + or Deficiency —	Phospho-rous (grams)	Surplus + or Deficiency —	Iron (grams)	Surplus + or Deficiency —
1	7	8	9	10	11	12
Vegetarian						
Lewa Patidar	.675	+ .225	1.752	+ .312	.0133	— .0017
Audich Brahman	.453	+ .003	2.010	+ .570	.0157	+ .0007
Shravak Vania	.405	— .045	1.771	— .331	.0117	— .0033
Goldsmith	.384	— .066	1.620	— .180	.0115	— .0035
Brahmabhat	.479	+ .029	2.030	+ .590	.0125	— .0025
Anavla	.426	— .024	1.739	— .299	.0133	— .0017
Deccani Brahman	.554	+ .104	1.655	+ .215	.0122	— .0028
Nagar Brahman	.586	+ .136	1.620	+ .180	.0169	+ .0019
Lad Vania	.403	— .047	1.649	— .209	.0114	— .0036
Kachhiya	.260	— .189	1.403	— .037	.0098	— .0082
Bhavsar	.216	— .234	1.417	— .023	.0096	— .0054
Kansara	.251	— .199	1.410	— .030	.0095	— .0055
Non-Vegetarian						
Thakarda	.165	— .285	1.791	+ .351	.0097	— .0053
Muslim	.340	— .110	1.780	+ .340	.0189	+ .0039
Dhed	.084	— .366	1.116	— .324	.0043	— .0107
Rajput	.355	— .195	1.314	— .126	.0096	— .0054
Bhil	.151	— .299	1.695	+ .235	.0054	— .0095
Bhangi	.087	— .363	1.003	— .437	.0039	— .0779
Valand	.079	— .371	.859	— .581	.0050	— .0100
Maratha	.456	+ .006	1.256	— .184	.0109	— .0041
Dubla	.134	— .316	1.242	— .198	.0043	— .0107
Parsi	.447	— .030	1.696	+ .256	.0214	+ .0064
Gola	.156	— .297	1.731	+ .291	.0099	— .0059

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TABLE B

Chemical Composition of the Everyday Food of Typical Castes

Food Item	Consumption (Tolas)*		Calorie Value		Protein Contents (Grams)		Vitamins †			
	Per day	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	A	B	C	D
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Leva Patidar (226,871) Vegetarian										
Wheat (Atta)	15	150	40.8	6,120.0	1.56	234.00	X	XX	..	..
Rice, or Kodri	18	360	45.2	16,272.0	0.72	259.20	..	L	..	..
Bajri, or Juwar	15	150	35.6	5,340.0	1.18	177.00	..	..	..	..
	20	600	43.6	26,160.0	1.11	666.00	X	XX	..	..
	20	600	40.4	24,240.0	1.16	696.00	X	XX	..	..
Potatoes	4	120	14.4	1,728.0	0.28	33.60	L	X	..	..
Greens	8	240	3.25	780.0	0.14	33.60	..	X	X	..
Dal	10	300	40.0	12,000.0	2.50	750.00	X	XX	..	..
Chillies	¾	22½	45.0	1,012.5	1.07	24.07	..	..	..	..
Masala	½	15	44.4	666.0	1.76	26.40	..	..	..	..
Oil	1½	45	100.8	2,592.0	..	..	L	..	..	..
Salt	¾	22½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Milk	20	600	12.0	7,200.0	0.54	324.00	XXX	X	X	X
Curds	15	330	7.2	2,376.0	0.56	184.80	XX	X	X	..
Ghee	3	90	83.2	7,488.0	..	..	XXX	..	..	X
							18	12½	3	2
Total per month				89,734.50		2,712.67				
Total per day				2,991.15		90.43				
Less 10% waste				299.11		9.04				
				2,692.04		81.38				
Standard requirement				2,500.00		75.00				
Surplus + or deficiency —				+ 192.04		+ 6.38				
Audich Brahman (45,222) Vegetarian										
Wheat (Atta)	15	450	40.8	18,360.0	1.56	702.00	X	XX	..	..
Rice, or Kodri	15	375	45.2	16,950.0	0.72	270.00	..	L	..	..
Bajri	10	50	35.6	1,780.0	1.18	59.00	..	..	..	..
	20	600	43.6	26,160.0	1.11	666.00	X	XX	..	..
Potatoes	5	150	14.4	2,160.0	0.28	42.00	L	X	..	..
Greens	10	300	3.25	975.0	0.14	42.00	..	X	X	..
Dal	7	210	40.0	8,400.0	2.50	525.00	X	XX	..	..
Chillies	½	15	45.0	675.0	1.07	16.05	..	..	..	..
Masala	½	15	44.4	666.0	1.76	26.40	..	..	..	..
Oil	2	60	100.8	6,048.0	..	..	L	..	..	..
Salt	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Milk	15	450	12.0	5,400.0	0.54	243.00	XXX	X	X	X
Curds	10	100	7.2	720.0	0.56	56.00	XX	X	X	..
Ghee	2½	75	83.2	6,240.0	..	..	XXX	..	..	X
							18	10½	3	2
Total per month				95,534.0		2,647.45				
Total per day				3,151.1		88.24				
Less 10% waste				315.1		8.82				
				2,836.0		79.42				
Standard requirement				2,750.0		75.00				
Surplus + or deficiency —				+ 86.0		+ 4.42				
Thakarda (190,195) Non-Vegetarian										
Wheat (Atta)	20	80	40.8	3,264.0	1.56	124.8	X	XX	..	..
Rice, or Kodri	20	360	45.2	16,272.0	0.72	259.2	..	L	..	..
Bajri	30	360	35.6	12,860.0	1.18	424.8	..	..	..	..
Bavta	30	750	43.6	32,700.0	1.11	832.5	X	XX	..	..
	30	150	40.0	6,000.0	0.90	135.0	..	..	..	..
Potatoes	10	300	14.4	4,320.0	0.28	84.0	L	X	..	..
Greens	15	450	3.25	1,462.5	0.14	63.0	..	X	X	..
Dal	10	150	40.0	6,000.0	2.50	375.0	X	XX	..	..
Chillies	1½	45	45.0	2,025.0	1.07	48.15	..	..	..	..
Masala	1	30	44.4	1,332.0	1.76	52.8	..	..	..	..
Oil	¾	22½	100.8	2,268.0	..	..	L	..	..	..
Salt	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ghee	1½	45	83.2	3,744.0	..	..	XXX	..	..	X
Mutton	15	75	16.8	1,260.0	2.40	180.0	L	X	L	X
Fish	10	20	8.8	176.0	2.06	41.2	..	X	..	..
Eggs	10	10	16.8	168.0	1.52	15.2	XX	XXX	..	X
Chicken	10	10	12.0	120.0	2.70	27.0	X	X	..	..
Total per month				93,927.5		2,662.65	10½	14½	1½	3
Total per day				3,138.8		88.75				
Less 10% waste				313.1		8.88				
				2,817.7		79.87				
Standard requirement				2,500.0		75.00				
Surplus + or deficiency —				+ 317.7		+ 4.87				

* Monthly food consumption is calculated by multiplying the daily quantity of the food item by the number of days on which it is taken during the month.

† X=fair supply, XX=good, XXX=very good, L=little.

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TABLE B

Chemical Composition of the Everyday food of Typical Castes

Mineral Salts (Grams)						Food Item
Calcium		Phosphorous		Iron		
Per Tola	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	
12	13	14	15	16	17	1
Lewa Patidar (226,871) Vegetarian						
.0051	.765	.0480	7.200	.00055	.0825	Wheat (Atta)
.0010	.360	.0109	3.920	.00010	.0360	Rice, or Kodri
..	..	..	..	..	..	
.0016	.960	.0370	22.200	..	..	Bajri, or Juwar
..	..	..	..	..	..	
.0014	.168	.0066	.792	..	..	Potatoes
.0010	.240	.0040	.960	.00005	.0120	Greens
.0120	3.600	.0496	14.880	.00090	.2700	Dal
..	..	..	..	..	..	Chillies
..	..	..	..	..	..	Masala
..	..	..	..	..	..	Oil
..	..	..	..	.000560	.0126	Salt
.0130	7.800	.0100	6.000	.000030	.0180	Milk
.0260	8.580	.0195	6.435	.000087	.0122	Curds
..	..	..	..	..	..	Ghee
	22.473		58.387		.4433	Total per month
	.749		1.946		.0147	Total per day
	.074		.194		.0014	Less 10% waste
	.675		1.752		.133	
	.450		1.440		.0150	Standard requirement
	+.225		+.312		—.0017	Surplus+or deficiency—
Audich Brahman (45,222) Vegetarian						
.0051	2.295	.0480	21.60	.00055	.2480	Wheat (Atta)
.0010	.375	.0109	4.09	.00010	.0375	Rice, or Kodri
..	..	..	..	..	..	
.0016	.960	.0370	22.20	..	..	Bajri
.0014	.210	.0066	0.90	..	..	Potatoes
.0010	.300	.0040	1.20	.00005	.015	Greens
.0120	2.520	.0496	10.50	.00090	.190	Dal
..	..	..	..	..	..	Chillies
..	..	..	..	..	..	Masala
..	..	..	..	..	..	Oil
..	..	..	..	.000560	.0168	Salt
.0180	5.850	.0100	4.50	.000030	.0135	Milk
.0260	2.600	.0195	1.95	.000087	.0087	Curds
..	..	..	..	..	..	Ghee
	15.110		66.94		.5245	Total per month
	5.03		2.23		.0174	Total per day
	.050		.22		.0017	Less 10% Waste
	.453		2.01		.0157	
	.450		1.44		.0150	Standard requirement
	+.003		+.57		+.0007	Surplus + or deficiency—
Thakarda (190,195) Non-Vegetarian						
.0051	.41	.0480	8.800	.00055	.044	Wheat (Atta)
.0010	.36	.0109	3.920	.00010	.036	Rice, or Kodri
.0010	.36	.0109	3.920	.00010	.036	
.0016	1.20	.0370	27.750	..	..	Bajri
.0016	.24	.0370	5.550	..	..	Bavta
.0014	.42	.0066	1.980	..	..	Potatoes
.0010	.45	.0040	1.800	.00005	.022	Greens
.0120	1.80	.0496	7.440	.00090	.135	Dal
..	..	..	..	..	..	Chillies
..	..	..	..	..	..	Masala
..	..	..	..	..	..	Oil
..	..	..	..	.00056	..	Salt
..	..	..	..	..	..	Ghee
..	..	..	..	..	..	
.0024	.18	.0440	8.800	.00060	.045	Mutton
..	..	..	..	..	..	Fish
.0090	0.9	.0240	.240	.00040	.004	Eggs
..	..	..	..	..	..	Chicken
	5. 51		59.700		. 322	Total per month
	.183		1.990		.0107	Total per day
	.018		.199		.0010	Less 10% Waste
	.165		1.791		.0097	
	.450		1.440		.0150	Standard requirement
	—.285		+.351		—.0053	Surplus + or deficiency—

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TABLE B

Chemical Composition of the Everyday Food of Typical Castes

Food Item	Consumption (Tolas)*		Calorie Value		Protein Contents (Grams)		Vitamins †			
	Per day	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	A	B	C	D
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Mahomedan (182,630) Non-Vegetarian										
Wheat (Atta)	20	360	40.8	14,688.0	1.56	561.6	X	XX	..	..
Rice	15	450	45.2	20,340.0	0.72	324.0	..	L	..	..
Bajri	20	30	43.6	13,080.0	1.11	333.0	X	XX	..	..
Potatoes	5	150	14.4	2,160.0	0.28	42.0	L	X	..	..
Greens	10	300	3.25	975.0	0.14	42.0	..	X	X	..
Dal	7	210	40.0	8,400.0	2.50	525.0	X	X	..	..
Chillies	¼	22½	45.0	1,012.5	1.07	24.075	..	..	..	..
Masala	¼	22½	44.4	999.0	1.76	39.6	..	..	..	..
Oil	2	60	100.8	6,048.0	..	..	L	..	..	..
Salt	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Milk	10	300	12.0	3,600.0	0.54	162.0	XXX	X	X	X
Ghee	2	60	83.2	4,992.0	..	..	XXX	..	..	X
Mutton	10	160	16.8	2,688.0	2.40	384.0	L	X	L	X
Fish	10	50	8.8	440.0	2.06	103.0	..	X	..	..
Eggs	10	150	16.8	2,520.0	1.52	228.0	XX	XXX	..	X
Chicken	10	20	12.0	240.0	2.70	54.0	X	X	..	..
Total per month				82,182.5		2,822.275	12½	13½	2½	4
Total per day				2,739.41		94.07				
Less 10% waste				273.94		9.40				
				2,465.47		84.67				
Standard requirement				2,500.00		74.00				
Surplus + or deficiency —				— 34.53		+ 9.67				

Food Item	Mineral Salts (Grams)					
	Calcium		Phosphorous		Iron	
	Per Tola	Per month	Per Tola	Per month	Per Tola	Per month
1	12	13	14	15	16	17
Mahomedan (182,630) Non-Vegetarian						
Wheat (Atta)	.0051	1.800	.0480	17.28	.0005	.180
Rice	.0010	.450	.0109	4.90	.0001	.045
Bajri	.0016	.480	.0370	11.10	..	..
Potatoes	.0014	.210	.0066	.99	..	..
Greens	.0010	.300	.0040	1.20	.00005	.015
Dal	.0120	2.520	.0496	10.41	.0009	.189
Chillies	..	..	..	..	..	..
Masala	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oil	..	..	..	..	..	..
Salt	..	..	..	..	.00056	.0168
Milk	.0130	3.900	.0100	3.00	.00003	.0090
Ghee	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mutton	.0024	.384	.0440	7.04	.00060	.0960
Fish	..	..	..	..	..	..
Eggs	.0090	1.350	.0240	3.60	.00040	.0600
Chicken	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total per month		11.394		59.52		.6408
Total per day		.378		1.98		.0210
Less 10% waste		.038		.20		.0021
		.340		1.78		.0189
Standard requirement		.450		1.44		.0150
Surplus + or deficiency —		—.110		+.34		+.0039

* Monthly food consumption is calculated by multiplying the daily quantity of the food item by the number of days on which it is taken during the month.

† X=fair supply, XX=good, XXX=very good, L=little.

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STATEMENT C

Sources of Food Elements

Chemical Element	Sources	
	Animal	Vegetable
1. *Body building Materials*		
Proteins	Milk, eggs, meat, fish, fowl ..	Pulses, grams, *dals*, wheat, *bajri*, nuts, leafy vegetables.
2. *Body Regulators*		
i. Calcium	Milk, butter milk, curds, whey, eggyolk.	*Dals*, nuts, fruits, grams, leafy vegetables.
ii. Phosphorous	Milk, butter milk, eggs, meat, fish.	Beans, lentils, nuts, wheat, oats, barley, leafy and succulent vegetables—spinach, radish, cucumber, carrot, cauliflower.
iii. Iron	Liver, red meats, eggs	*Dal*, whole cereals, leafy and succulent vegetables and fruits.
iv. Iodine	Seafish and oils	Sea-weed, fruits and green leafy vegetables.
3. *Indispensable helpers to body building proteins*		
i. Vitamin A	Fats and fish oils, liver, kidney, eggyolk, butter and ghee, whole milk.	Green leafy vegetables and vegetable tops, bamboo sprouts, lucerne, gram, sprouted grain, yellow root vegetables, carrots and sweet potato, tomato, *Bajri*, yeast, tomato, lettuce, spinach and leafy vegetables, walnuts, *atta*.
ii. Vitamin B	Eggs, liver, brain, heart, kidney.	Yeast, tomato, lettuce, spinach and leafy vegetables, walnut, *atta*, *bajri*, *dal*, milk.
iii. Vitamin C	Liver, blood, milk	Green leafy fresh vegetables, fresh fruits, prouted grains and *dal*, raw carrot, orange juice and peel.
iv. Vitamin D	Cod liver oil, milk, ghee, butter, eggyolk, fish.	Sea plants, vegetables grown in sunlight, oils and grains.
v. Vitamin E	....	Whole wheat, vegetables.
4. *Fuel Foods*		
Fats	Butter, ghee, cream, milk, fish oils, dripping.	Vegetable oils, *til*, olive, groundnuts.
5. *Carbohydrates*		
i. Sugar	....	In fruits jaggery, *gul*, treacle, white and brown sugar, honey.
ii. Starches	....	In cereal grains, *dal*, beans, nuts, *tuver*, root vegetables, bananas, cellulose (or roughage) the woody fibre found in vegetables and fruits.
6. *Temperature Regulators, body flushers, etc., water sources*	Meats, milk	Green spinach fruits, etc.

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CHAPTER IX

LITERACY

§ 1. Consideration of Absolute Figures

295. Reference Statistics—The statistics round which this chapter is written are of three kinds. In the first place with a view to test how far the educational policy of the State has succeeded in liquidating ignorance, the census so devised its questionnaire as to enable the figures compiled to divide the population into three categories: (*a*) literates who are able to read and write in any language, (*b*) partially literates, who though not able to combine both functions of reading and writing are still able to read only, and (*c*) wholly illiterates, comprising the rest of the population who have not these qualifications.

These three categories were introduced in 1921, and have been continued in this census also. Secondly the census sought to know how far people were acquainted with English on the one hand and Hindi and Urdu on the other. Apart from these two kinds of figures, this chapter presents details of schools and scholars obtained from the Education department and seeks to correlate them with literacy results. The census figures are compiled in :—

(*i*) Imperial Table XIII which gives the general results by age, sex and religion, first for the whole State, and then, for the City and the different administrative divisions.

(*ii*) Imperial Table XIV, which gives the number of literates and literates in English (aged 7 and over) in selected castes, arranged into three classes—Advanced, Intermediate and Illiterate—according to a percentage scale already explained in the Chapter on Civil Condition.

(*iii*) State Table II, which gives the population by talukas distributed by religion, sex, age and literacy.

(*iv*) State Table VI which has six parts, Parts A to C giving details of literacy by script, Parts D and E showing figures of full and partial literacy by age, sex and chief religions in all the talukas and towns of the State. Part F shows literacy for wards of the City.

In respect of these tables, it is necessary to mention that in Imperial Table XIII, all persons returned as " literate " below 5 years of age were neglected, and the age-groups of literates were also smoothed like those of the general population (*vide* Chapter IV).

296. Basis of Figures—As progress in this regard is a matter of vital interest, literacy figures in the different censuses have to be compared, and it is necessary therefore to know how far, if at all, the basis of the statistics has altered from decade to decade. Literacy is defined since 1911 as the ability to read a letter from a friend and to write a reply to it. In 1901 no general indication was given as to the standard to be adopted when a person was to be entered as a literate. In 1911, instructions as to what constituted a person's literacy were first laid down in the handbook for the superior census staff: the enumerators being left with the general instruction that one's claim to be able " both to read

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and write any language " should be allowed without demur. In 1921 and 1931, the more detailed test applied in 1911 was included in the general instructions which were broadcast to all enumerators. In the instruction classes, special emphasis was laid on this point. It was desired that the literacy record was to be strictly confined to those who were able to read and write. With a view to this end, the category of the partially literate was specially devised in 1921, (*i*) as a check on indiscriminate returns of persons whose claims to literacy did not come up to the standard required, and (*ii*) as a valuable indication by which we could gauge the extent of the lapse from literacy in later ages. The test for partial literacy laid down since 1921 is the ability to read printed or other books or letters ; but mere power to scrawl a signature was not enough. There is another point to be remembered while comparing figures prior to 1901. In 1881 and 1891, there were three categories—literate, learning and illiterate. The division seemed natural enough, but in practice it gave rise to many anomalies. In the first place it was not logical, because a learner may be either literate or not able to read and write at all. Secondly the return was vitiated by the omission " at one end of children who had not been long at school and at the other, of many of the more advanced students who returned themselves as literates. There were thus marked discrepancies between departmental returns and the census figures of children under instruction." For these reasons, only the two broad categories of literate and illiterate were retained by the all-India census, while the addition of the third category of partial literacy in the State census helped materially to enhance the relative accuracy of the returns. For those who were able to read only, the instruction was first to enter a cross (or " no ") against column 16 and then in the line below it, against the query, " If not literate, whether able to read only, " enter the affirmative sign.

297. Data regarding Groups—In regard to the second kind of statistics, it is also necessary to find out the basis of the figures. Knowledge of English is always part of the census questionnaire regarding literacy. Here again the standard has varied a little from time to time, though formal instructions have not been much altered. Knowledge of English more or less involves ability to read and write in it. The ability to speak it is not asked for here, as in the Ceylon Censuses of 1911 and 1921. In 1901, literacy in the principal scripts was recorded. Ten years after, compilation by scripts was abandoned. In 1921, it was again introduced, but endless difficulties were experienced at the tabulation stage ; the different combinations led to complicated sortings. Claims to polylingualism were so extravagant that the results compiled were not of much value. In the present census, we decided to conform to the all-India minimum in this regard contenting ourselves merely to record scripts of Hindi or Urdu. Where a person claimed knowledge of Hindi or Urdu in addition to his mother tongue, he had simply to show it as an additional qualification ; he had first to write " yes " to the general query whether he was literate or not and then enter "yes" against one or other or both of the scripts which he professed to know. If a person was literate in English, whether it was his mother tongue or not, he was to be shown as literate in column 16 and literate in English in column 17. Lastly it must be remembered that a person was not directly asked if he was literate, or at least partially so, in his own vernacular. If he was shown as literate in column 16 without any mention of script, it was presumed that he was so in his own vernacular ; though the presumption is not always correct. Many Deccanis residing in the State and educated in the schools where there is no facility of teaching in Marathi learn only to read and write in Gujarati. Owing to similar causes, many Gujarat Muslims, although claiming Hindustani as their vernacular, read and write only in Gujarati.

298. General Results—The number of literates in the State has increased from 272,418 to 434,734 or by 162,316 or over 59 per cent. Taking the figures by sex, the male literates have increased to 355,067 or by 54 per cent while the female literates have nearly doubled themselves, having grown from 41,300 to 79,667 or by 93 per cent. Wherever there is scope for increase, the number of literates has

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increased by leaps and bounds. The State consists of the City, 32 mahals and 8 peta mahals. In 27 mahals, the increase is well over 50 per cent in respect of males and 100 per cent in respect of females. In the whole of Mehsana *prant*, female literacy has increased by 126 per cent. Palsana, Kodinar, Tilakwada and Dhari mahals record increases in female literacy from 200 to 337 per cent. Padra (196 per cent), Baroda (191), Vaghodia (191), Bhadran (168), Dabhoi (192) in Baroda *prant*; Mahuva (181) in Navsari *prant*; Sidhpur (190), Visnagar (189) and Vijapur (185) in Mehsana *prant*, and Khamba (189) in Amreli come next in order of progress in female education. In male literacy, the highest increases recorded are in Tilakwada (205), Baroda (101), Kodinar (98), Vaghodia (97), Padra (88), Bhadran (87), Mahuva (84), Visnagar (81) and Vyara (80). The marginal table gives the general rate of increase in literacy by sex in the different divisions (with the highest ratio recorded for both sexes within each division). In Baroda City and Okhamandal, the smallest rates of increase are registered in the former because there is the least scope there for further advance under present social conditions; and in the latter, because owing to the backward nature of the country and the continued seasonal depressions, compulsory provisions were relaxed and the schools declined both in number and attendance.

LITERACY

DIVISION	Variation per cent since 1921	
	Male	Female
Baroda City	18.4	13
Amreli Division	56.4	141
Highest ratio in Prant (Kodinar) ..	98	211
Baroda Division	66	111
Highest ratio (Tilakwada)	205	337
Mehsana Division	59	126
Highest ratio (Visnagar)	81	189
Navsari Division	45	93
Highest ratio (Mahuva)	84	181
Okhamandal	23	25

299. Variation in Number of Literates in the Main Religions—The marginal table has been prepared to show the comparative variation in the general strength as well as in literacy under each main religion. The minor groups like Aryas, Brahmos, Sikhs, etc., have been omitted. It is interesting to find amongst Parsis, who had already attained to high literacy in 1921, that there is so little scope for further advance that their total strength and the number of literates amongst them have declined at the same rate. At the other end of the scale in educational advancement, the decline in literacy amongst the followers of Tribal religions has kept pace with their decline in numbers. The Jain rate of progress in literacy is almost double that of the increase in their numbers. Hindu Brahmanic records three times the rate of general increase in the ranks of its literates. Amongst Muslims for every individual added to their total ranks more than 4 have joined the ranks of their literates. But the most satisfactory progress is amongst the Christians. Although their numbers have actually declined, their literate total has increased by 53 per cent showing that there has been intensive improvement amongst the converts and only those who owned nominal adherence to Christianity have reverted back to their parent communities.

RELIGION	Total strength in 1931	Variation per cent in total strength since 1921	Literacy strength in 1931	Variation per cent in number of literates since 1921
Total ..	**2,443,007**	**+ 14.9**	**434,734**	**+ 59.6**
Hindu Brahmanic ..	2,149,200	+ 23.4	360,648	+ 67.0
Jain	48,408	+ 12.0	24,324	+ 22.0
Tribal	44,890	— 72.5	773	— 72.7
Muslim	182,630	+ 12.5	39,665	+ 52.0
Zoroastrian ..	7,262	— 5.3	5,121	— 5.5
Christian	7,127	— 2.1	2,466	+ 53.0

300. Disparity in Literacy by Sex—While we are on the study of absolute figures, we must refer to the disparity in the sexes in the matter of the literacy qualifications. There are 445 male literates to a hundred females

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similarly qualified. Four out of five literate persons are men. This disparity continues through all age periods as seen in the marginal table. While the children are at school, the disparity is not so obvious, as both girls and boys have to attend under the Compulsory Education Act. As girls leave school earlier than boys, (compulsion for the former being only from 8 to 12 years as against 8 to 14 for boys), a smaller proportion of girls acquire literacy than boys. From the adolescent ages (10-15 and 15-20) the disparity tends to increase, until women lag behind hopelessly in the years after 30. In 1921, this disparity was even more noticeable than now, there being 4 boys to one girl literate in the age-group 15-20. 64 per cent of male literates are aged at least 20 years and over while only 42 per cent of female literates are of adult ages. Thus while the majority of literates among men are grown up, the majority amongst females are in the adolescent and school-going ages. In 1921, the conditions were similar, only the disparity being slightly more accentuated than now.

Age Periods	Proportion of literate males to	
	100 literate persons	100 literate females
All Ages ..	82	445
5—10 ..	70	230
10—15 ..	72	250
15—20 ..	77	330
20—30 ..	81	440
30 and over..	91.5	1,090

§ 2. Study of Proportionate Figures

301. Literacy by Religion, Sex and Age—Having studied the state of things as disclosed by absolute figures it is time now to turn to proportionate results. Let us first compare literacy ratios by religion, sex and age. The following Table gives the particulars of literacy results in the different religions distributed according to sex and age. A diagram plotting the proportionate figures of literacy for all ages 5 and over in each main religion is also given below the table :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Literacy by Age, Sex and Religion

Religion	Literate per 1,000 aged 5 and over										
	All ages 5 and over			5–10		10–15		15–20		20 and over	
	Persons	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All Religions ..	209	331	79	157	75	301	132	470	147	354	55
Hindu	198	315	72	152	72	293	126	456	137	334	47
Jain	577	849	298	401	250	676	447	964	586	962	222
Tribal	21	37	4	13	2	26	3	55	10	48	4
Muslim	254	420	79	183	60	350	126	562	144	466	58
Zoroastrian ..	796	870	743	478	466	768	724	970	925	961	758
Christian	392	506	263	260	196	478	325	713	416	520	223

In the above table only the major religions are shown. Hindu Aryas show 58 per cent literacy (74 amongst males and 37 amongst females). With Brahmos not included in the above table, as their numbers are very small, 8 out of 10 are literate—9 out of 10 males and 8 out of 10 females being so qualified. Next to Zoroastrians and Jains, Christians come up with 39 per cent literacy—followed by Hindus and Tribals. If the Tribals are omitted, the State proportion of literacy rises to 223. The Tribal literacy is pitifully low, but it shows an improvement although very slight on the 1921 proportions which were 20, 37 and 3 for persons, males and females respectively of all ages 5 and over. In the next paragraph we shall analyse

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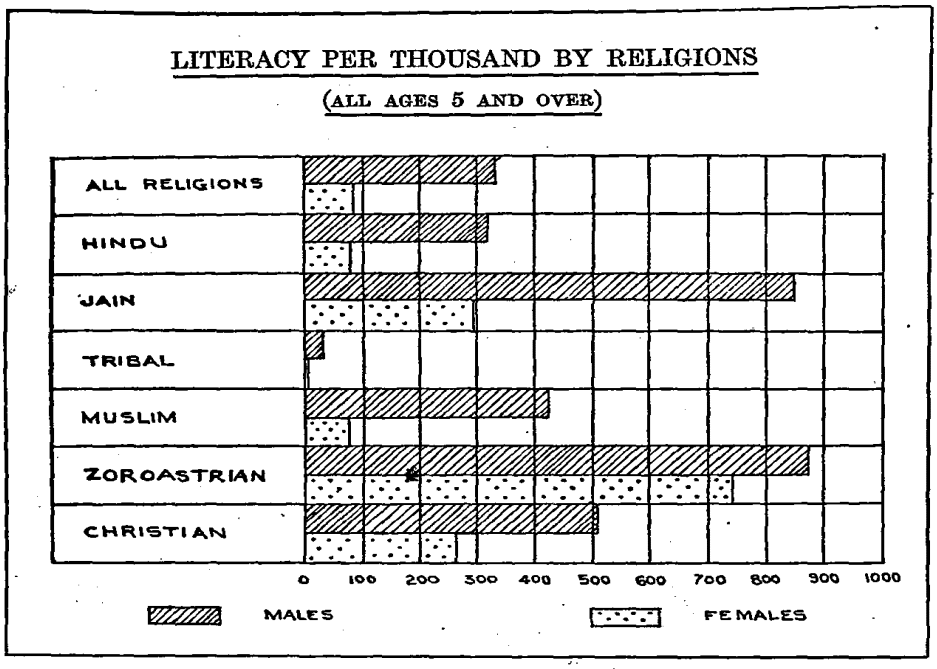
the figures in the age-periods of 10-15 and 15-20; these ages are particularly important as they help to throw light on the efficacy of instructional agencies.



302. Variation in Literacy in Age-Periods 10-15 and 15-20—The marginal table compares the literacy proportions in the two age-periods 10-15 and 15-20 for the two censuses in the different religions. In the age-periods 10-15 the literate proportions are generally higher than in 1921, except amongst Jains and Parsis, who are credited with almost unbelievable proportions for that age in 1921. I suspect that in 1921, many of these ages, who should have been entered as able to read only, were shown as literate. Otherwise, it may be stated that the reopening of the Infant standard in primary schools in the State has helped to improve literacy conditions amongst children aged 10-15. The age-period 15-20 indicates how far educational effort has succeeded with the different religions. The "Tribal" of these ages has gone even more remote from education influences in 1931 than before because of the withdrawal of "compulsion" provisions from the Raniparaj tribes. Much still remains to be done to bring the sexes more to an equality in literacy, in the bulk of the population, although amongst Parsis and Christians the sexes are more or less equal in this respect. The Jains show a considerable improvement; so do

Religion	Number of Literate per Mille							
	10-15				15-20			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All Religions ..	**301**	**280**	**132**	**99**	**470**	**354**	**147**	**105**
Hindu	293	282	126	94	456	354	137	100
Muslim	350	315	126	100	562	424	144	109
Jain	677	831	447	477	964	935	586	454
Christian	478	428	325	320	713	526	416	328
Zoroastrian	768	956	724	782	970	991	925	888
Tribal	26	43	3	6	55	76	10	9

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to a smaller extent the Muslims. The Hindus show the slowest progress, presumably because as already pointed out, the Hindu total in the present census is inflated with the bulk of the forest tribes.

303. Literacy by Religion, Sex and Locality—Now let us see how far the proportionate figures for the different religions differ by localities: Subsidiary Table II gives the requisite figures in the different divisions :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

LITERACY BY RELIGION, SEX AND LOCALITY

NATURAL DIVISION	NUMBER OF LITERATES PER MILLE OF PERSONS AGED 5 AND OVER											
	HINDU		JAIN		TRIBAL		MUSLIM		ZOROASTRIAN		CHRISTIAN	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Baroda State	315	72	849	298	37	4	420	79	870	743	506	263
Baroda City	572	215	871	392	..	..	448	131	940	859	705	374
Central Gujarat exclusive of City.	304	79	845	315	..	..	425	49	900	828	495	219
Kathiawad	348	120	824	322	..	..	408	100	1000	1000	881	286
North Gujarat	246	61	853	274	..	..	357	59	931	650	774	548
South Gujarat	309	71	846	377	37	4	540	136	859	738	434	275

Variations in literacy in the different religions by locality are governed largely by the caste composition of the religions in particular areas. Generally Hindus have a lower ratio than Muslims in literacy, because the backward elements form a much larger proportion of the Hindus than of the Muslims. In the City, where the commercial and other advanced sections of Hindus predominate, the Hindu shows a very high ratio of 57 per cent. Christians and Parsis are mostly confined to Central and South Gujarat, only scattered families of these are met with in the other divisions. The bulk of the Jains are in Central and North Gujarat. The proportions found for these religions in these areas are therefore representative. Muslims show a wider acquaintance with elementary education than Hindus do, but in the City they are far behind. In Kathiawad and South Gujarat, generally advanced Muslim castes are met with, and their literacy is very high being 54 per cent in South Gujarat.

304. Literacy by Localities—Coming to differentiation by areas, it is interesting to study the main contrasts in urban and rural areas. Just as we noticed in the Chapter on Occupation that a high ratio of non-agricultural workers is a test of townhood, even more so does the possession of a high literacy ratio stamp an area as urban. In the margin proportions are calculated for

CLASS OF AREA	NUMBER LITERATE PER MILLE OF EACH SEX											
	All ages 7 and over		Between 7 and 23		Between 7 and 33		Between 17 and 23		Between 24 and 33		34 and over	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
State	347	80	358	132	376	116	467	130	419	80	298	25
Urban Areas ..	541	175	540	255	554	235	658	265	586	190	518	77
Rural Areas ..	292	58	308	99	325	84	407	90	367	49	236	10

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all ages 7 and over, 7 and 23, 7-33, 17-23, 24-33 and 34 and over. The reader may be cautioned at the outset that the returns of ages among literate persons were not smoothed for towns and talukas, but only for the administrative divisions. The proportionate figures of 7-33 are of great importance. The Compulsory Act was extended throughout the State in 1906, so that the first batch of pupils netted within compulsion are not more than 34 years old to-day. This fact explains why the contrast between rural and urban becomes suddenly sharpened in the age-period of 34 and over. Up to that limit the rural areas are not very far behind the towns in educational progress, at least in male literacy.

305. Literacy by Age, Sex and Locality—Turning to the different divisions the contrasts are somewhat less striking. The following Subsidiary Table gives the requisite ratios for literacy by age-periods, sex and divisions :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Literacy by Age, Sex and Locality

Natural Division	Number per mille who are literate (5 and over)										
	All ages 5 and over			5—10		10—15		15—20		20 and over	
	Persons	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Baroda State	**209**	**331**	**79**	**157**	**75**	**301**	**132**	**470**	**147**	**354**	**55**
Baroda City	408	560	213	321	192	520	318	667	326	587	174
Central Gujarat excluding City.	238	377	82	174	84	343	149	542	160	400	52
Central Gujarat including City.	262	404	99	192	97	366	170	562	184	428	68
Kathiawad	246	364	122	187	126	351	221	521	223	388	79
North Gujarat	163	270	53	137	54	262	93	399	103	282	34
South Gujarat	196	307	84	128	65	251	120	428	148	346	68

We see from the above table that literate persons now form 21 per cent in the State. One in three males, and one in 13 females,—(5 years and over),—are able to read and write. But these proportions vary in the different age-periods and in different localities. The most literate age-group for either sex is 15-20, when the boys and girls have left or are about to leave off schooling. Between those ages, nearly half of the males, and about 15 per cent of females are literate. The most literate of the localities is the Baroda City, where 56 per cent of men and 21 per cent of women are able to read and write. In the age-group 15-20, Baroda City has more than two-thirds of its males, and one-third of its females, literate. Next to the City comes Central Gujarat, which includes the enterprising Charotar tract, and Kathiawad, which though backward in the composition of its population, has had the longest spell of compulsory education. In female literacy, Kathiawad even beats Central Gujarat and is only next to the City.

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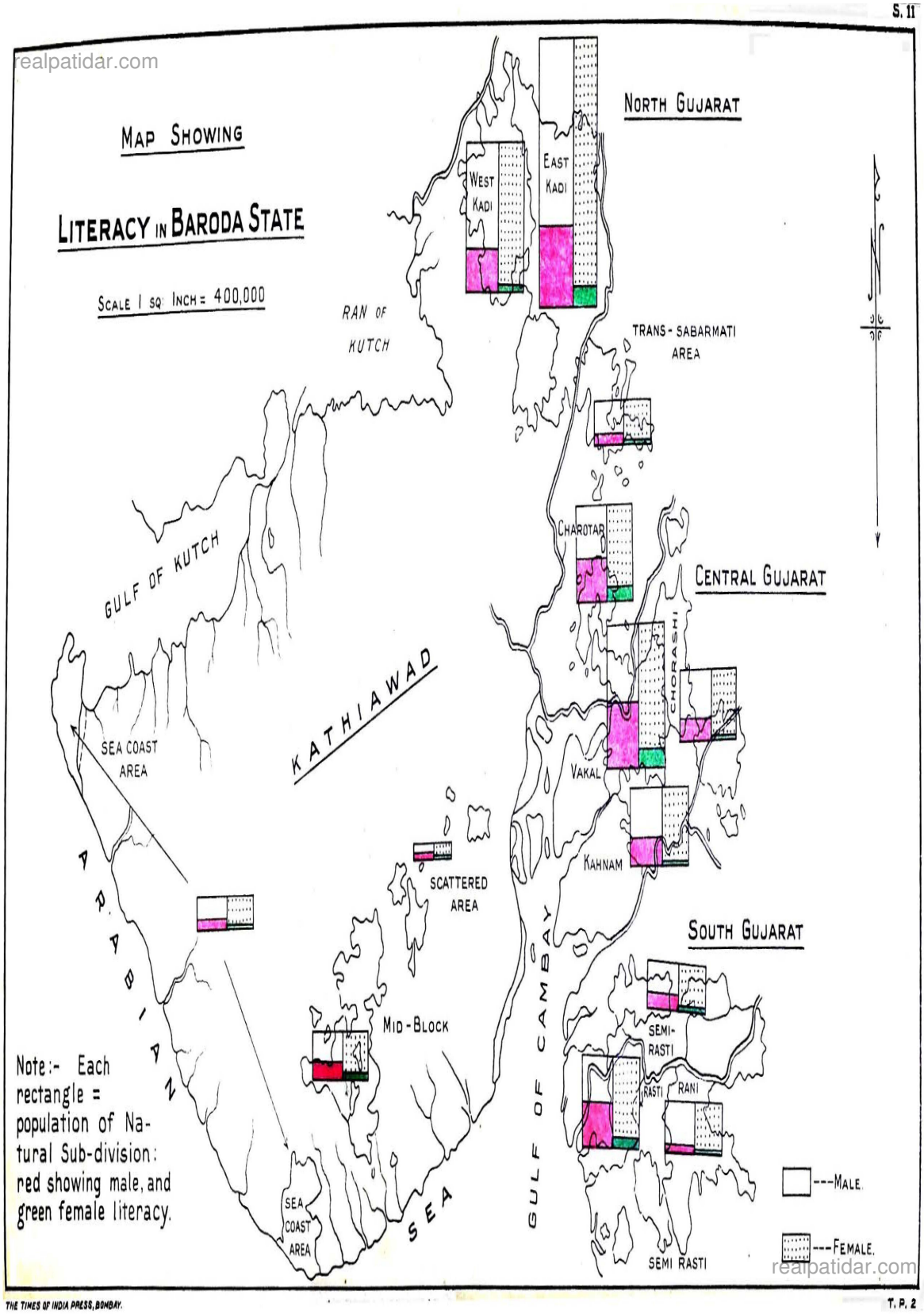

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306. Literacy in Natural Areas—From natural divisions, the analysis may be carried to natural areas. The thirteen natural sub-divisions are arranged according to order of literacy. Here again the age returns are not smoothed into quinary groups, as in the natural divisions, and the proportions are calculated on all persons aged 7 and over, children below that age being neglected for that purpose. State Table V—Part D gives the details of absolute figures from which the proportionate figures in the margin are calculated. First comes Vakal, which contains the City. Last, far behind the others, is Rani, where compulsion has been waived with the forest tribes, who form the bulk of the population there. In female literacy, the highest place goes to the Middle Block. A map has been prepared and is given here facing this paragraph, to show the proportion of literacy per sex in each of these sub-divisions. The proportions are also calculated by excluding the Rani tract showing that in the area of effective compulsion 39 per cent of males and 12 per cent of females are literate in the age-period 7-33. It appears that in the whole of North Gujarat and the greater part of South Gujarat there is yet considerable scope for improvement.

Natural Sub-Division	Literates per 1,000 of each sex aged 7 and over			Literates per 1,000 of each sex aged 7-33	
	Persons.	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6
(1) Vakal	317	474	135	507	187
(2) Rasti	309	486	142	503	187
(3) Charotar	308	456	135	518	203
(4) Mid-Block area	289	423	149	458	213
(5) Scattered areas	280	418	138	418	201
(6) Kahnam	253	420	70	436	101
(7) Sea-coast area	213	319	98	342	134
(8) East Kadi	180	299	60	352	88
(9) Chorashi	168	280	40	298	94
(10) Trans-Sabarmati area	162	258	56	274	82
(11) West Kadi	158	263	49	287	61
(12) Semi-Rasti	155	255	45	262	60
(13) Rani	82	128	36	135	39
The State	219	347	80	376	116
The State excluding Rani	258	358	85	387	120

307. Literacy in the Age-Period 7-33—The proportions for the ages 7-33 may be studied a little more in detail so that the special influence of compulsory education may be isolated. Amreli mahal forms part of the Middle Block and the literacy figures for this mahal are of special interest as compulsion here was first introduced. Schools were opened on the compulsory basis of attendance in ten villages in this mahal in November 1893: compulsion was extended to 10 more villages in May 1895, to ten others in December 1897 and to 20 more villages in 1899. By July 1904, two villages of this taluka were added, totalling 52 in all. The process was gradual and the experiment was closely watched in this tract. Finally the Government decided to extend it to the whole State in 1906. The progress in Amreli is seen by comparing the figures for ages 7-30 in 1921 with the corresponding proportions for the sexes aged 7-33 in 1931. Thus although in this taluka, the experiment has been tried for the longest period, rather a half of the male population and three-fourths of the females are as yet uneducated. The first thirteen years of the experiment were spent in habituating an agricultural people to the idea of sending their children to school. Even when compulsion became general, the first steps were devoted to the organisation of the machinery and the expansion of schools. It was only in the last 10 years, as we shall see presently that consolidation has been begun in earnest with the improvement in schools and the training of the teaching staff.

Year	Age Period	Literates per mille of each sex in age period	
		Male	Female
1	2	3	4
1921	7 — 30	410	140
1931	7 — 33	530	254

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308. Literacy in Towns—State Table VI—Part E gives the figures of literacy, in the different towns of the State. Literacy amongst males in the towns in the different natural areas is exhibited in the marginal table. Vakal even without the City ranks the highest, as Padra has progressed remarkably in this respect. Amreli town gives Middle Block a high place. The inclusion of Patan in West Kadi makes it rank higher than East Kadi, and the industrial population in Sidhpur and Kalol bring down the literacy ratio for the last named area. Rani towns (Vyara specially) rank high, because of their *ujaliat* (higher class) population, although the whole Rani area makes a very poor show. In female literacy, Semi-Rasti (with its one town, Mahuva) takes the highest rank curiously enough, with 274 females per 1,000 (aged 7 and over), who are able to read and write. Rasti and the City follow in this respect, Chorashi, taking the lowest rank. Amongst individual towns Sojitra ranks the highest this time with 67 per cent of its male population (aged 7 and over) literate. The City ranks tenth in order of literacy, being beaten by such towns as Dwarka and Sankheda. It is remarkable that the first three places in this literacy competition are secured by Charotar towns Subsidiary Table IX printed at the end of this chapter gives the proportional figures for each town.

Natural Area	Proportion of literates of each sex per mille aged 7 and over	
	Male	Female
Vakal Towns	584	152
Middle Block towns	580	208
Baroda City	579	220
Charotar towns	572	204
Rasti towns	569	250
Scattered areas towns	536	190
Kahnam towns	529	122
Semi-Rasti towns	522	294
West Kadi towns	522	169
Sea coast towns	517	162
Chorashi towns	504	110
Trans-Sabarmati towns	493	156
Rani towns	486	192
East Kadi towns	482	116

Name of Town	Male literacy per 1,000 males aged 7 and over
Sojitra	668
Dharmaj	623
Bhadran	619
Gandevi	607
Padra	605
Amreli	596
Dwarka	585
Navsari	583
Sankheda	581
The City	579

309. Literacy in the City—The distribution of literates in the City is a matter always of interest. In that connection the figures of the City proper and the Cantonment have been separately calculated by sex for the age-periods 7 and over, 7-33, 17-23, 24-33, and 34 and over. The figures by quinary groups are only worked out for the City as a whole: while the figures for the other age-groups are available for the two different parts separately. The immediate effect of schooling is seen in the age-period 15-20 or 17-23. The next age-groups (20 and over and 24 and over) show evidence of lapse into illiteracy, to which the industrial groups are peculiarly liable. The highest proportion for males shown marginally is in the City proper in the age-group 17-23. It is natural that this should be the case, as it is there alone that compulsion is enforced. The Camp female ratios are higher because of Mission activity, and the Indian Christian group which forms a substantial portion of its inhabitants show a very general acquaintance with letters.

Age-Periods	Literacy per 1,000 of each sex (5 and over)		Literacy per 1,000 of each sex (7 and over)			
	City as a whole		City Proper		Cantonment	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 and over	560	213	Not available.			
15-20	667	326				
20 and over	587	174				
7 and over	579	220	579	219	561	259
7-33	573	283	583	283	564	280
17-23	665	301	670	302	546	253
24-33	582	225	583	222	551	321
34 and over	567	109	568	107	552	221

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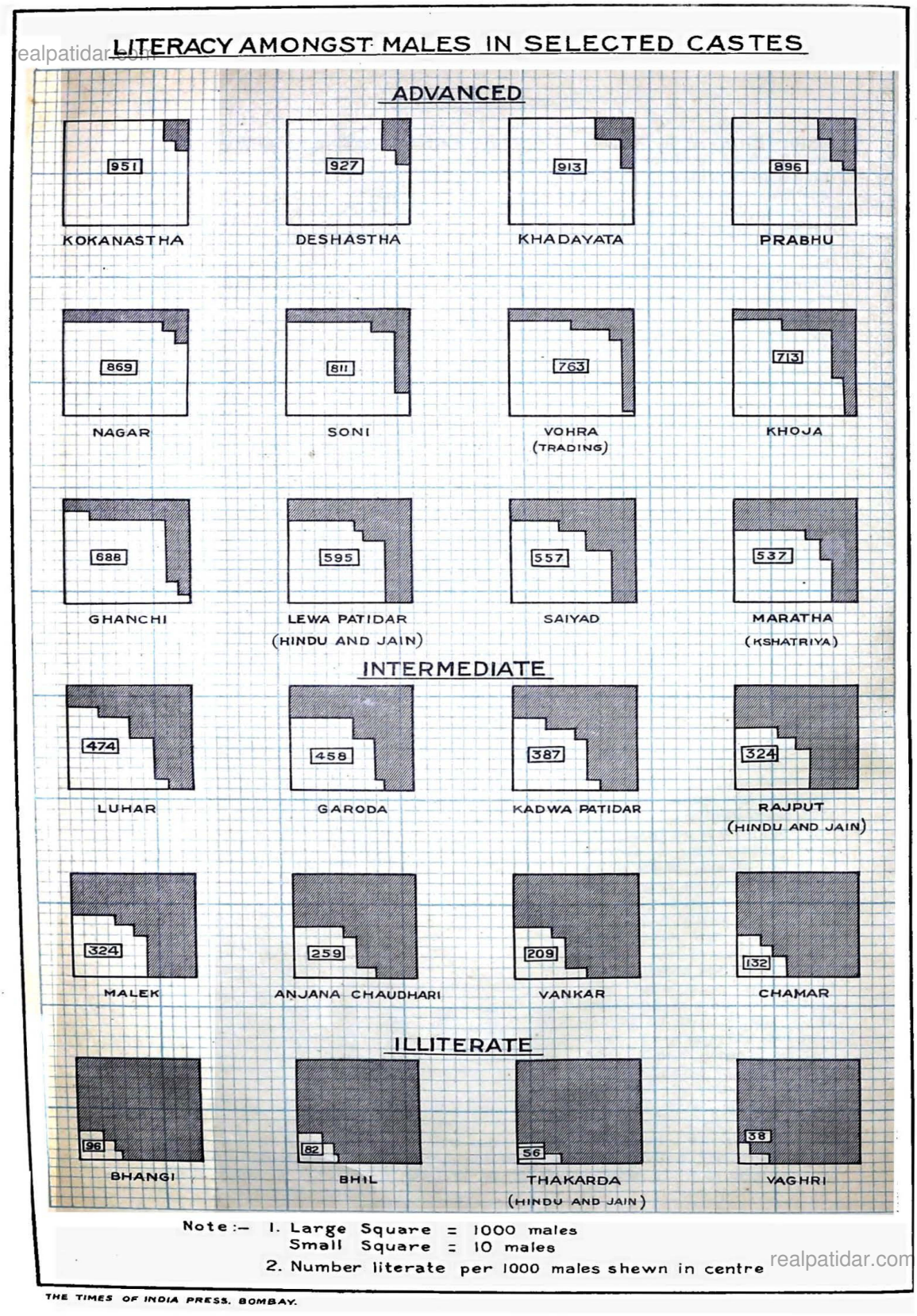

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310. Literacy by Wards in the City Municipal Area—The analysis by wards is indicative of the particular areas, where the educational machinery will have to be speeded. State Table VI—Part F gives the absolute figures of literacy and ability to read only by wards in the City municipal area. The marginal table is prepared therefrom. It shows that while generally throughout the municipal area, 68 per cent of males, and 31 of females, are able to read and write in the age group of 17-23, the City ward in which the commercial castes usually reside, shows 80 per cent for males, and 45 for females, literate in those ages. Raopura shows the next highest ratios. In Wadi which is now a decaying suburb, two thirds of its males and over one fifth of its females, aged 7 and over, are literate. Fatehpura as can be well imagined has the least educational progress. Its principal inhabitants are lower-class Muslims and depressed classes.

Wards	Literates per mille (in Baroda City Municipal Area) aged					
	7 and over		17—23		7—33	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Municipal Area ..	*587*	*224*	*679*	*311*	*594*	*291*
Babajipura	544	216	639	272	565	276
City	727	293	802	450	715	391
Fatehpura	434	89	462	105	434	124
Raopura	609	268	710	360	616	338
Wadi	548	157	649	219	559	209

The City compares favourably in educational progress with other cities in India. In 1921, it ranked only below Madras, Rangoon and Calcutta in literacy. In 1931 we have specially secured the figures of Bombay City by courtesy of the Superintendent of Census Operations there. While our City has a general literacy of 560 per mille amongst males, and 213 amongst females, aged 5 and over, the corresponding figures for the City of Bombay are 314 and 174 only.

311. Literacy by Caste—To show the state of things in the different castes, Imperial Table XIV (Literacy by selected castes) has been compiled from which the proportionate figures have been calculated for Subsidiary Table X at the end of this chapter. The margin collects the principal ratios. Imperial Table XIV like its companion Tables VIII and XI has been prepared on the basis of a literacy percentage scale. The Advanced section consists of those castes and groups amongst which the literate males constitute at least half of their sex aged 7 and over. To this section belong all Brahmans and Vanias, the writer castes, Brahmabhats, Barots, Maratha Kshatryas, Lewa Patidars, Bhavsars, Sutars, Sonis and Ghanchis, and amongst Muslims, Saiyads, Memons, Vohras, Khojas and Pinjaras. The Intermediate section consists of those castes and tribes that have a male literacy ratio of between 10 to 50 per cent of males aged 7 and over. This large group

Group	Number per 1,000 literate aged 7 and over		
	Persons	Male	Female
Advanced	**459**	**687**	**210**
Hindu and Jain	*467*	*634*	*215*
Highest (Prabhu)	774	896	646
Lowest (Brahmabhat)	330	567	89
Marathas	385	537	191
Muslim	*379*	*610*	*154*
Highest (Vohra—trading) ..	505	763	262
Lowest (Pinjara)	298	522	81
Intermediate	**180**	**308**	**47**
Hindu and Tribal	*174*	*298*	*45*
Muslim	*221*	*376*	*49*
Indian Christian	*382*	*499.6*	*251*
Illiterate	**36**	**62**	**7**
Primitive Tribes—			
(i) Intermediate	78	137	15
(ii) Illiterate	39	69	8
Depressed Classes—			
(i) Intermediate	117	200	37
(ii) Illiterate	48	84	12
Lowest ratio of all (Vaghri) ..	23	38	7

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forming 41 per cent of the total population comprises the bulk of the agriculturists, the main body of artisans, the majority of the depressed classes and the more advanced sections of the forest tribes. The Illiterate group ranks behind these two with their literate males forming less than 10 per cent of their sex aged 7 and over. They comprise the great labouring groups, the bulk of the aborigines and the remainder of the unclean castes.

The proportions for each of the classes are shown in the inset and under Advanced figures for "Hindu and Jain" and "Muslim", and under Intermediate, for "Hindu and Tribal," and "Muslim," have been given separately. Under "Hindu and Jain" and "Muslim" in the Advanced section, those castes that have the highest and lowest ratios in each group are also specified. As to primitive tribes and depressed classes the proportions for each of these classes are calculated for the Intermediate and Illiterate sections separately. Finally, the lowest ratio of all is given at the end of the table. The place for this unenviable honour goes to the Vaghris, who remain, as they did in 1921, the wooden-spoonists in the literacy race. The Intermediate section of the primitive tribes are the Hinduised aborigines like the Chodhras, Dhankas and Dhodias. The castes amongst depressed classes, who have come up to the Intermediate level are the Garoda (priests of these people) with a male literacy of 458 per mille, the Vankar (209) and the Chamar (132). These form nearly 80 per cent of the total strength of depressed classes selected for the purposes of this table. It remains to add that the Marathas, thanks to the encouragement of the Government of the State, enjoy a very high literacy while their brethren in the Deccan could show in 1921 only 6 per cent literacy amongst their males.

312. Female Literacy in Castes—Coming to literacy amongst females, the Prabhu, Konkanastha, Nagar and Deshastha amongst the Advanced are the few castes in which the sexes approach parity to any extent in literacy. The margin notes castes showing a literacy ratio amongst their females higher than 300 per mille. Other castes which are actually more advanced (at least from the census point of view) than Prabhus and Brahmans, like Khadayata Vanias, show a peculiar indifference towards the education of their females. The groups like Brahmabhat, Bhavsar, Sutar, Ghanchi, Kachhia, Lewa Patidar and Soni, which owe their place in the Advanced because of the high literacy of their males are markedly backward in female education. The Muslims show general backwardness in girls' education, the highest proportion of female literates being amongst the Khojas (268) and trading Vohras (262).

Castes	Proportion of female literate per mille (aged 7 and over)
Prabhu	646
Konkanastha ..	523
Nagar Brahman .	467
Deshastha ..	443
Kapol	398
Anavala	358
Porwad	332
Shrimali	320
Disawal	305

313. Variation in Degree of Literacy in the Population—Fear was expressed in the Report of 1921, that the spread of education with its unequal results in the different strata of society had helped to "enforce and even widen the existing cleavage between the classes in the community." The selected castes in 1921 formed about 92 per cent, and those selected in 1931, about 93 per cent of the total population. Taking these selected castes as representative of the population in the two censuses, and the proportions subsisting between them as holding true for the whole State, and applying the same literacy percentage scale for both the occasions, we find the castes that satisfied the test for the first class have increased from 11 per cent to 27 per cent, showing that they have gained largely from the Intermediate section, which in its turn has increased at the expense of the lowest class.

Group	Proportion to total strength of selected castes of 1931	1921
Advanced	27.4	10.6
Intermediate	41.1	44.4
Illiterate	31.5	45.0

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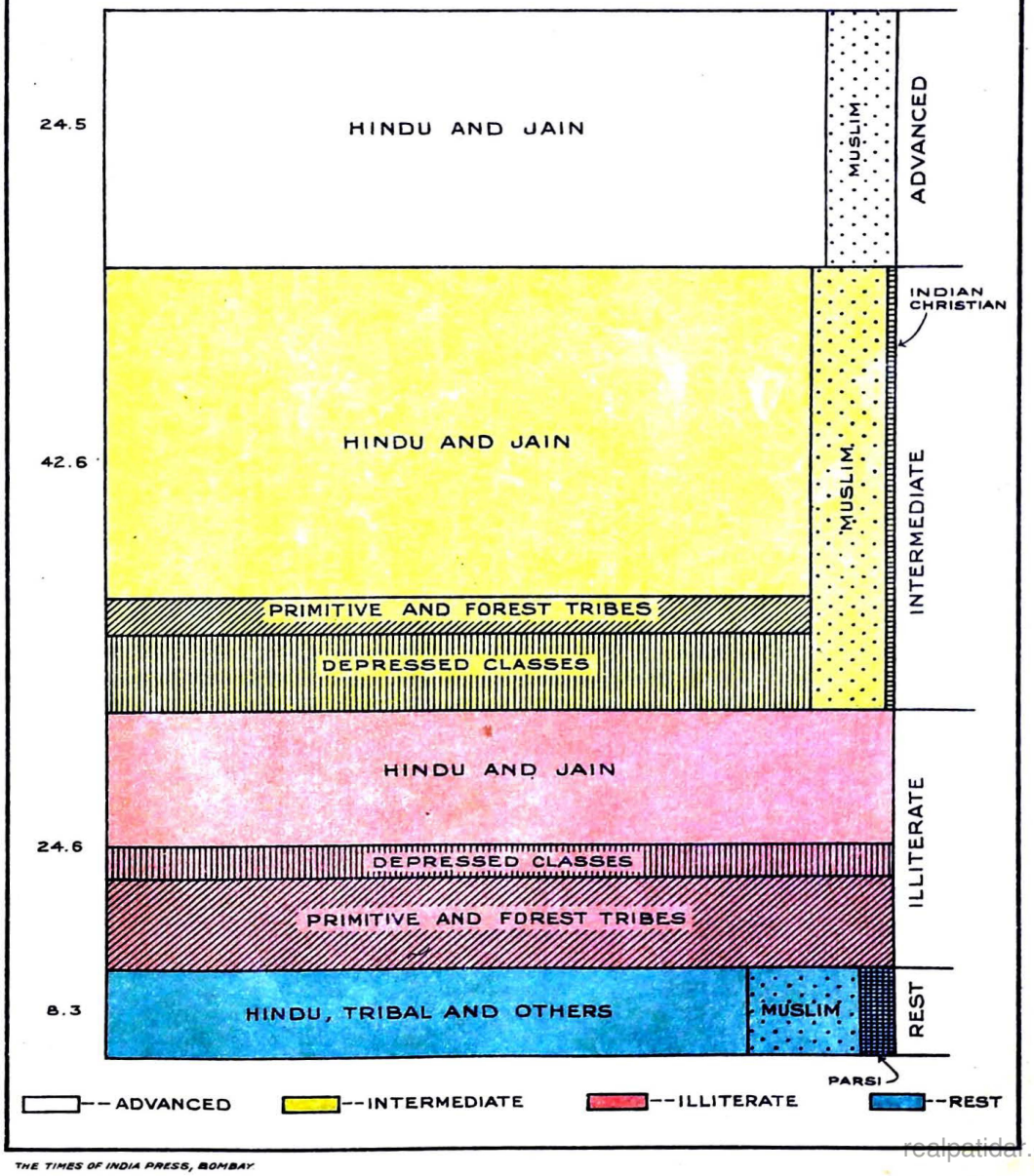
POPULATION CLASSED ACCORDING TO SCALE OF LITERACY OF MALES

Advanced :- Male literacy 50 per cent and upwards
Intermediate :- Male literacy between 10 and 50 per cent
Illiterate :- Male literacy below 10 per cent



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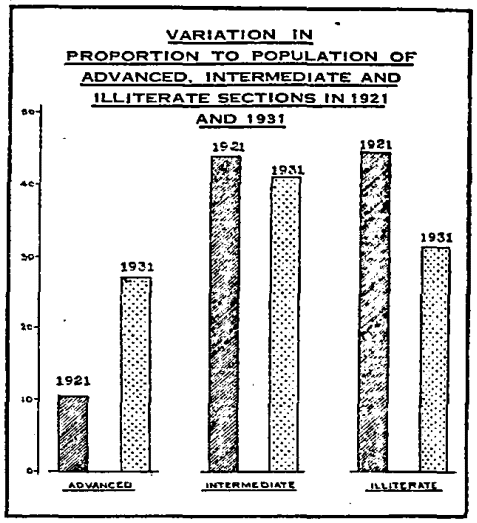
Other castes, which have similarly progressed, are the Sutar, who now rank well in the first class, the Baria who have shown wonderful progress and the Vankar, Chodhra, Talabda, Chamar and Dhodia, who have now come up from the last class to the Intermediate. Thus the different communities are approaching each other and the apprehended cleavage is receding in the distance. The Illiterate section really represents the "uneducable" element, being the most obstinate of education problems in the State. It consists of a fifth of the depressed classes, over three-fourths of the aborigines, about half of the Koli population, and the Rabaris, Ravalias, Vaghers and Vaghris. It is on these sections that educational effort must henceforth be concentrated to bring them on something of a level with the rest of the community.



314. Partial Literacy—The question of the partially literate (*i.e.* those who are able to read only) will be considered presently in connection with the problem of lapse into illiteracy. In the meantime it may be briefly stated that those, who are able to read only, now number 102,728 (66,121 males and 36,607 females) in the State. The corresponding figures for 1921 were 18,836 persons, 13,793 males and 5,043 females. Thus their strength has increased by over 446 per cent for both sexes (or nearly four times amongst males and over six times amongst females). The Wholly Illiterate in the State, therefore, has decreased from 832 per mille (aged 7 and over) in 1921 to 729 per mille (aged 7 and over) in 1931. The following Table compares the proportionate figures of two censuses in the age groups 5-20, 20-30 and 30 and over. The calculations are per mille of each sex in each age group.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

NUMBER WHOLLY ILLITERATE PER MILLE OF EACH SEX BY AGE-PERIODS

Division	Able to read only per mille aged						Wholly illiterate per mille aged					
	5—20		20—30		30 and over		5—20		20—30		30 and over	
	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Baroda State												
Male	87	19	57	16	38	10	617	779	506	671	648	747
Female	66	10	31	4	9	2	817	922	868	942	960	973
Central Gujarat												
Male	96	25	62	19	45	12	540	712	420	604	571	692
Female	75	14	33	6	11	3	776	886	842	919	949	961
North Gujarat												
Male	83	16	53	13	32	8	664	831	578	747	727	805
Female	57	7	26	3	7	2	862	953	904	966	976	985
South Gujarat												
Male	57	12	45	11	35	7	679	802	558	651	645	731
Female	56	8	25	4	9	2	836	921	868	938	945	963
Kathiawad												
Male	104	23	73	19	44	10	568	752	449	627	614	729
Female	104	20	56	8	14	2	710	880	794	922	864	973

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The wholly illiterate are now 617 per mille amongst males and 817 amongst females in the age-period 5-20. In 20-30, the wholly illiterate males have declined by 165 per 1,000 in the last ten years. Amongst the females, the liquidation of illiteracy has been relatively less successful showing that wastage in vernacular education has been greater amongst females than males. In Central Gujarat the process has been most successful in both sexes, 58 per cent of males having the minimum acquaintance with letters. In Kathiawad, the extirpation of ignorance amongst females has been comparatively more successful than anywhere else in the State.

§ 3. Literacy by Language

315. Literacy in English—Coming to particulars of qualifications by languages, the most important item is literacy in the English language. There are now 32,022 literates in the English language (30,218 male and 1,804 female) in the State. In 1921 the corresponding figures were 15,660 persons, 14,773 male and only 887 female. The number in both sexes has, therefore, more than doubled in the decade. The following Table gives the comparative figures showing progress in English literacy by locality since 1901 :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

English Literacy by Age, Sex and Locality

Natural Division	Literate in English per 10,000															
	1931										1921		1911		1901	
	5—10		10—15		15—20		20 and over		All ages 5 and over		All ages 5 and over		All ages 5 and over		All ages 5 and over	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Baroda State	**33**	**8**	**169**	**23**	**578**	**42**	**313**	**14**	**281**	**18**	**153**	**10**	**104**	**5·3**	**59**	**2**
Baroda City	272	121	1037	374	2855	516	1757	167	1660	231	1184	125	796	65	476	23
Central Gujarat exclusive of City.	26	3	165	11	558	21	249	5	241	8	96	6	75	4	36	0.1
Kathiawad	32	3	102	9	403	15	291	8	254	7	117	3	88	2	34	0.7
North Gujarat	21	2	97	4	302	6	161	3	146	3	74	2	43	0.30	20	0.35
South Gujarat	23	8	137	21	528	47	317	23	268	23	174	10	89	3.2	70	3.1

The general average for males for the State is 28 per mille aged 5 and over who are literate in English. Their proportionate strength is now nearly five times as much as in 1901. English schools have now multiplied in the last thirty years, and 58 per thousand males, and 4 per 1,000 females, in the age-period 15-20 understand English as against only 11 and 0.3 respectively in 1901. The City where the English teaching is concentrated, naturally shows by far the greatest prevalence. In the age-period 15-20, 29 per cent of males, and 5 of females, know English in the City. North Gujarat which has few high schools for its population has shown the least progress. Female literacy in English in the State is still negligible. Of the 1,804 females possessing this qualification, 999 (or over 55 per cent) are in the City alone (914 in the municipal area). 587 others (or nearly 34 per cent) are found in towns, half being in Navsari town, most of whom are Parsis. The rural areas have only 218 women who know English: of these 111 are in Baroda mahal, in Sama and Nizampura villages where the Methodist Mission houses its converts and has a boarding school for girls. Thus English education amongst women is practically non-existent outside the City and its environs and Navsari town.

316. English Literacy by Religion—The Table below gives the comparative figures of progress in literacy in the English language by religion since 1921. Parsis and Christians dominate the figures. The number of English literates in these religions form 70 per mille of the English literate total in this State,

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although the combined strength of these religions is not more than 6 per mille. The Jain comes a bad third. The Tribal progress is nil, there being only three literate males in English now, as against 7, ten years ago. Amongst female literates in English, those who are Parsis and Christians form over 37 per cent. The rest are mostly Hindus. There are only 52 Muslim females, who are literate in English.

Religion	Number per 10,000 persons (aged 5 and over) who are literate in English					
	1931			1921		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
All Religions ..	**154**	**281**	**18**	**85**	**153**	**10**
Hindu	141	262	12	80	150	5
Jain	521	1,010	20	260	490	15
Tribal	.1	.2	...	.5	1	..
Muslim	102	192	7	50	100	5
Zoroastrian	2,419	4,189	1,135	1,670	3,300	460
Christian	1,153	1,422	846	750	770	730

As in the rest of India, Muslims are very backward in secondary education, particularly in regard to their females. The growth since 1921 is very marked, particularly amongst Jains whose English literates have more than doubled their proportionate strength. Parsi women have similarly progressed.

317. English Literacy by Caste and Race—Literacy in English is mostly confined to Parsis, Aryas and Jains, the Indian Christians and the Advanced section of Hindus. Few Muslims have taken to it and the Vohras (trading) who show the largest proportion of literacy in English affect only a smattering of it. Amongst Hindus, it is limited to certain Brahman groups (Nagar, Konkanastha, and to a smaller extent, Anavala and Audich), Prabhus and Lewa Patidars. In the Intermediate section, the most advanced group in this respect are the Indian Christians, who are placed here because of the rigour of the percentage scale. Their male literates just happen to be below 50 per cent; but in all other respects they should rank well in the Advanced section. Their general literacy (382) is high, being higher than the Advanced Muslim average. Their female literacy (251) is higher than even the average for Advanced females (210). In English literacy, Indian Christians as seen from the marginal table take a higher place than even the Advanced Hindu. Excepting Nagars, of whose males 38 per cent are literate in English, Anavalas (20 per cent), Deccani Brahmans (over 50 per cent), Prabhus (62), Vanias (21) and Maratha Kshatriya (14),—Indian Christians appear to be the most educated community in the English language.

Class	Number per 10,000 (aged 5 and over) who are literate in English		
	Persons	Male	Female
Advanced	**497**	**918**	**39**
Advanced Hindu	530	972	41
Advanced Muslim ..	162	313	15
Indian Christian	933	1,175	662
Intermediate	**38**	**70**	**5**
Intermediate Hindu ..	25	49	1
Intermediate Muslim ..	93	176	2

318. English Literacy amongst Females—English literacy amongst females is still in its infancy, and it is limited only to certain communities which have definitely come under English influence. The majority of castes, however, whose males take to English education from utilitarian motives, show a very low English literacy ratio for its females *e.g.*, Audich (1,259 and 18), Lewa Patidar (457 and 8), Disawal Vania (2,096 and 17), Lad Vania (2,242 and 13). Only the marginally-noted castes and communities show English literacy ratios amongst their females higher than 100 per 10,000.

Parsi	1,135
Prabhu	1,132
Hindu Arya	705
Indian Christian ..	662
Konkanastha	475
Deshastha	392
Nagar	322
Maratha	179
Other Brahman ..	129

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319. Literacy in Hindi and Urdu: (*a*) *By Age Periods*—Apart from qualification in the English language, we compiled also figures of literacy in the Hindi or Urdu script or in both. There is great public interest in the question whether educated Indians, whatever their mother tongue, are taking to any extent to Hindi or Urdu as a kind of *lingua franca*. State Table VI—in the first three parts—gives the main results. We shall first consider the figures by age-periods. The State has for some years tried the experiment of introducing Hindi as a compulsory second language in vernacular schools. How far this has succeeded will be judged from the following Table :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

LITERACY IN SCRIPTS BY AGE AND SEX

AGE	Proportion per mille of literates, who are able to read and write in					
	Hindi		Urdu		Both	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All Ages	**65**	**21**	**26**	**23**	**5**	**1**
7—33..	68	20	25	31	4	1
17—23..	76	19	26	35	5	1
34 and over	59	29	30	55	7	3

Only 6 per cent of male and 2 of female literates know Hindi. The proportions knowing Urdu or claiming both are even more infinitesimal. The age-period 17—23 would mean the group nearest to school influences, and yet even amongst these only 8 per cent of males are able to read and write Hindi. Generally it must be concluded that the policy of making Hindi compulsory has not succeeded. It has occupied a space in the primary school curriculum which is urgently needed for other and more practical courses such as vocational or manual training.

(*b*) *By Mother Tongue*—There is another way in which the figures can be studied by correlating them to the strength of each of the principal vernaculars spoken in the State. The following Subsidiary Table gives the proportion per mille of speakers of each vernacular, who are literate in Hindi, Urdu or both :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

LITERACY IN HINDI AND URDU AMONGST SPEAKERS OF DIFFERENT VERNACULARS

MOTHER TONGUE	Proportion per mille of speakers of each mother tongue, who are literate in					
	Hindi		Urdu		Both	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gujarati (Standard)	16	1	3	1	0.6	0.05
Marathi	116	19	1	0.2	4	0.24
Hindustani	59	4	6	4	4	3
All Languages	**18**	**1**	**7**	**2**	**1**	**0.1**

The above figures are illuminating. Hardly 2 per cent of Gujarati males are literate in Hindi. The proportion of them knowing Urdu are less than one-fifth of those knowing Hindi : the proportions amongst females are negligible. Educated Deccanis in the State alone show an active inclination for Hindi. The Hindustani speakers who are able to read and write

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Urdu are mostly Muslims; and even they are less than half of those Muslim literates who know English. Acquaintance with English is actually wider, because its practical utility as a world-medium is admitted on all hands. Some kind of speaking acquaintance with Hindi involving as it does in most cases the addition of *hai* and *tha* to Gujarati words may be said to be general in the State. The vocabulary of Gujarati and Western Hindi, it must be remembered, is largely common, and it is not difficult for the speakers of either, even if he be illiterate, to pick up in the course of his business or travel a nodding acquaintance with the other language. But the knowledge of the script is very limited, far more so without doubt than English. There is indeed much sentiment attached to the common script movement, about which my remarks in the Census Report of 1921 may be still worth quoting.

"The present attitude of Gujaratis and Deccanis to this question may be described in one word: *sympathetic inaction*. They are prepared to concede about the script at least in their printed books, but no Marathi speaker is willing to part with his *Modi*, nor is any Gujarati anxious to abolish his own script altogether. Under these circumstances, there is little evidence of the Common Script movement making much headway at least in Gujarat. With the death of Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaswamy Sastri, and Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, the two leaders of this movement, it has more or less become inactive. On the other hand, there is much activity in the direction of what may be called co-operative scholarship, appreciation of one another's literature, and a united endeavour to improve the tone of their respective languages, recover their lost treasures and to restore the people to a right attitude towards their ancient civilisation."

§ 4. Correlation with Education Returns

320. Progress of Literacy by Sex and Locality—We now come to study the general literacy figures census by census and see how far the progress made has been due to State educational effort. Subsidiary Table XII at the end of this chapter gives the proportionate variations by main age-periods in the different divisions since 1881. As stated already it is not possible to compare the state of things prior to 1901, as the basis of the statistics was different. An attempt is made to equalise the basis by regarding as literate persons aged 15 and over who were returned as "learning" in 1881 and 1891. This is not of course satisfactory as the class would include a good proportion of what are now "able to read only." It is useful then to start with the figures of 1901 for these reasons. Further as compulsion was extended throughout the State in 1906, the 1901 figures help to throw light on the educational situation just before the State's launching out into their tremendous experiment. The following Table collects the principal ratios since 1901 from the above mentioned Subsidiary Table :—

Progress of Literacy since 1901

Locality	Number of literate per mille (all ages 10 and over)							
	Male				Female			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901
Baroda State	**361**	**277**	**229**	**199**	**80**	**51**	**25**	**9**
City of Baroda	590	600	472	427	214	218	84	27
Central Gujarat (including City) ..	437	338	284	270	91	71	30	10
Kathiawad	398	311	260	187	122	71	40	7
North Gujarat	294	215	173	137	53	30	12	3
South Gujarat	341	289	226	219	88	58	33	25

The greatest progress is evidenced amongst the women with whom the literate strength (aged 10 and over) is now nine times as large as it was thirty years ago. The greatest proportionate increase is in Kathiawad and North Gujarat, where women are now over 17 times, and men are more than twice, as literate as in 1901. But when we compare, as we do in the margin the comparative rate of progress in the age-periods 15-20 and 20 and over, we find that though amongst males, the proportionate increase is fairly kept up, amongst females it

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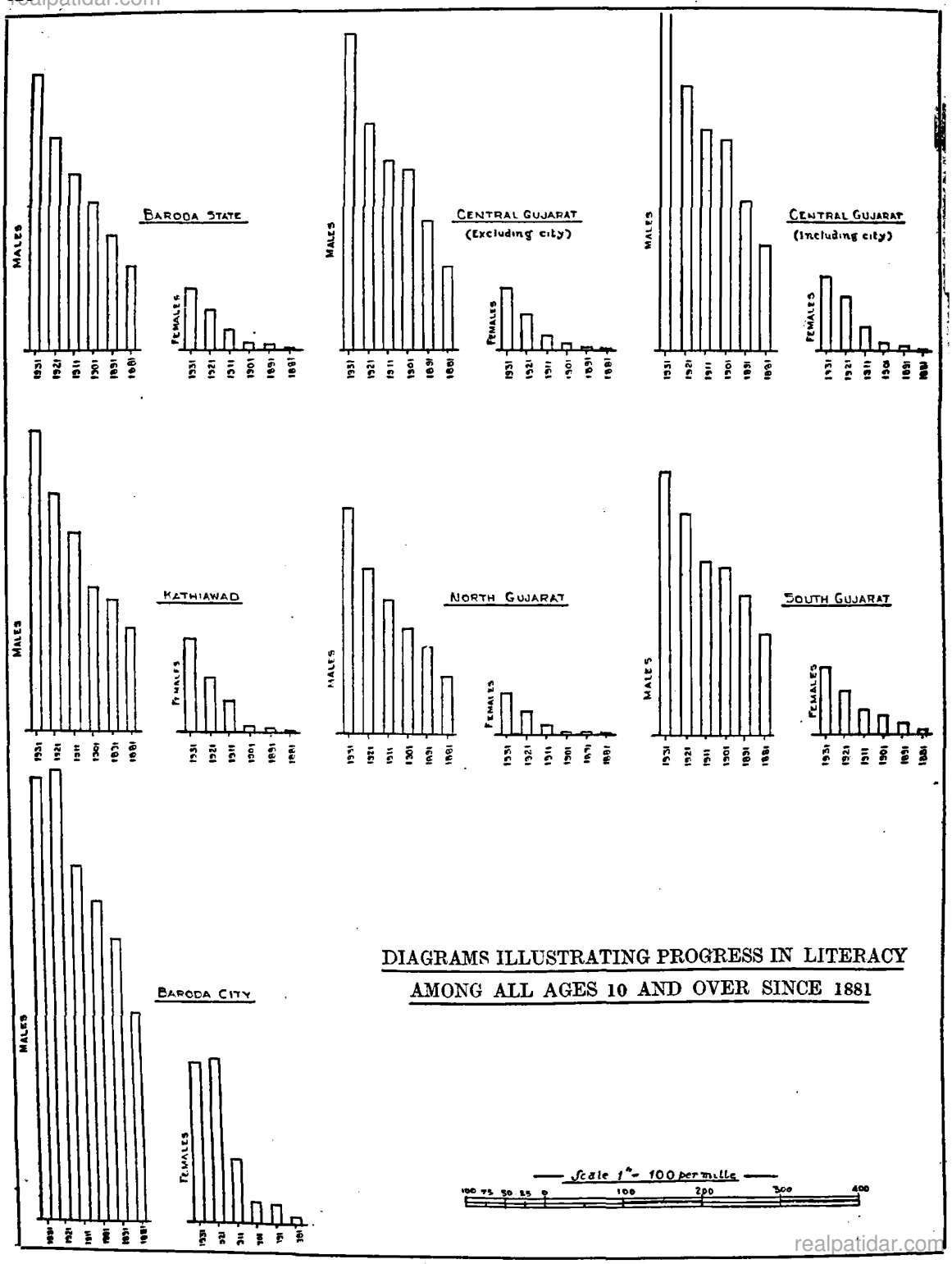

DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATING PROGRESS IN LITERACY AMONG ALL AGES 10 AND OVER SINCE 1881

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slows down considerably in the higher age-group. In the age-period 15-20, the female literates are now proportionately more than 11 times while amongst females aged 20 and over, the literates now number proportionately only 8 times as much as in 1901. There is one reason for this different rate of progress. Women, who had first come under education did not have the full benefits of it, partly because it was something of a pioneering attempt for them but chiefly because educational facilities in 1901 and even in 1911 had not yet become an effective instrument for dispelling ignorance; as a result, the first batch of literacy recruits amongst the women did not retain for long their new found accomplishment. A diagram facing this paragraph illustrates the progress of literacy in each sex by divisions and the City since 1881.

Literates per mille								
Age-Period	Male				Female			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901
15—20	470	354	258	206	147	105	40	13
20 and over ..	354	265	217	208	55	34	10	7

321. Decline of Literacy in the City—The proportionate figures of City literacy in the different censuses deserve a little closer attention and it is here that we find a slight relative decline in literacy. The figures of the City are affected by the fluctuating population of the Camp, the railway areas and the industrial population, which is largely immigrant and innocent of any knowledge of letters. A proper study of the figures would necessitate our limiting ourselves to the City only. The marginal calculations are prepared from the literacy figures of two censuses of the City area only. It shows that although the literates have declined in proportion, the partially literate class are now more than double of their relative strength amongst males in 1921. Thus while literacy has declined a little, the process of liquidation of illiteracy has gone on developing, there being now 16 illiterate males, and 30 illiterate females less, per 1,000 of each sex than in 1921. Turning to the industrial factory operatives, we see that the number of factory hands has nearly doubled, and the immigrants from United Provinces and Rajputana have also increased in the same proportion. As calculated in para 75 above (in Chapter III), the immigrant wave in the last decade was higher than at any other period of census history. Thus the immigrant factor may have lowered the literacy ratios in this census. That it has done so amongst males is apparent from the inset. State Table XVIII was specially compiled to show the comparative incidence of literacy in each sex in the immigrant as well as in the native-born population of the City. The female ratios are higher. That is because the majority of female immigrants do not belong to the industrial class. On a broad review of the data collected, the following general conclusions are put forward :—

Number per mille of each sex aged 7 and over				
Who are	Male		Female	
	1931	1921	1931	1921
Literate	579	588	220	223
Able to read only ..	50	25	43	10
Wholly Illiterate ..	371	387	737	767

Sex	Proportion per mille of each sex aged 10 and over who are literate	
	Native Born	Immigrant
Male	619	582
Female	217	250

(*i*) The factor of immigrant males mostly industrial in character has helped in lowering the ratio of male literacy :

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(*ii*) As to female literacy, the fact that females who are partially literate are now more than four times proportionately to their total strength explains why literates amongst them have declined, pointing to the ineffectiveness of some of the primary schools, where wastage may be more than it should be. This is evident from the figures of male literates in the age-period 15-20 who have declined by nearly 100 per thousand of their ages since 1921. The attention of the educational authorities is invited to a minute consideration of the data to which only scant justice can be given in a Report of this kind.

(*iii*) Lastly it must be remembered that literacy is most widely prevalent in the City. As we have seen by wards, the ratios are so high in some parts that further scope for progress under present social conditions is out of question.

322. State Educational Effort—We will now briefly attempt to correlate these results with the educational efforts of the State during the last ten years and see how far its pioneer attempt in compulsory primary education has succeeded. The chief events in the educational policy of the decade were—

(1) the extension of facilities for training of teachers,

(2) the consolidation of the machinery of primary education by reducing or otherwise improving inefficient schools, abolishing single-teacher schools, and concentrating trained teaching in selected areas,

(3) the extension of the village library movement,

(4) the undertaking of intensive studies in different areas with a view to detect flaws in the organisation of education and to check retardation and wastage amongst children,

(5) the improvement in the pay and prospect of teachers,

(6) the extension of facilities for secondary education and the like, to backward classes, and lastly

(7) the restriction of the compulsion area, by releasing the Raniparaj of the 18 tribes (312,051 persons in all or about 13 per cent of the total population) from the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act.

This last measure has resulted, as we have seen, in an actual set-back in educational progress of these tribes, particularly in Vyara and Songadh talukas. The other measures, however, have helped materially in the fostering and retention of literacy in the State. Village and town libraries increased from 627 in 1920 to 698 in 1930; and reading rooms from 93 to 196.* The proportion of trained teachers has increased from nearly 59 per cent in 1920 to nearly 64 per cent in 1930. The scholars in primary schools have increased from 180,405 in 1920 to 215,541 in 1930. An actual census on the 31st January 1931 disclosed a total school strength of 216,667 children in all kinds of primary institutions (public, private and special). In the marginal table, the annual averages of students admitted to the fourth standard for groups of years are compared. Up to 1927 July, the improvement in the average of admissions to the fourth standard class was well maintained but there was falling off in 1927-28 and although things have improved towards the close of the decade, the level of 1927 has not yet been reached. Presumably, the lowness of the number in 1928 was due largely to the fact that the children who were of age for the fourth standard were the survivors from the plague and influenza epidemics of 1917 and 1918 in which years the birth rate was low and the infant mortality was high.

Year Periods	Annual average of pupils admitted to 4th standard
1910—12	9,269
1913—16	14,052
1917—20	21,032
1921—23	19,112
1924—27	22,572
1928—30	18,015

323. Schools and Scholars—Out of the 2,969 towns and villages (excluding the Camp and the railway areas under foreign administrations) 1,433 with a

* Further details of the progress of the library movement are given in Appendix VI attached at the end of this chapter.

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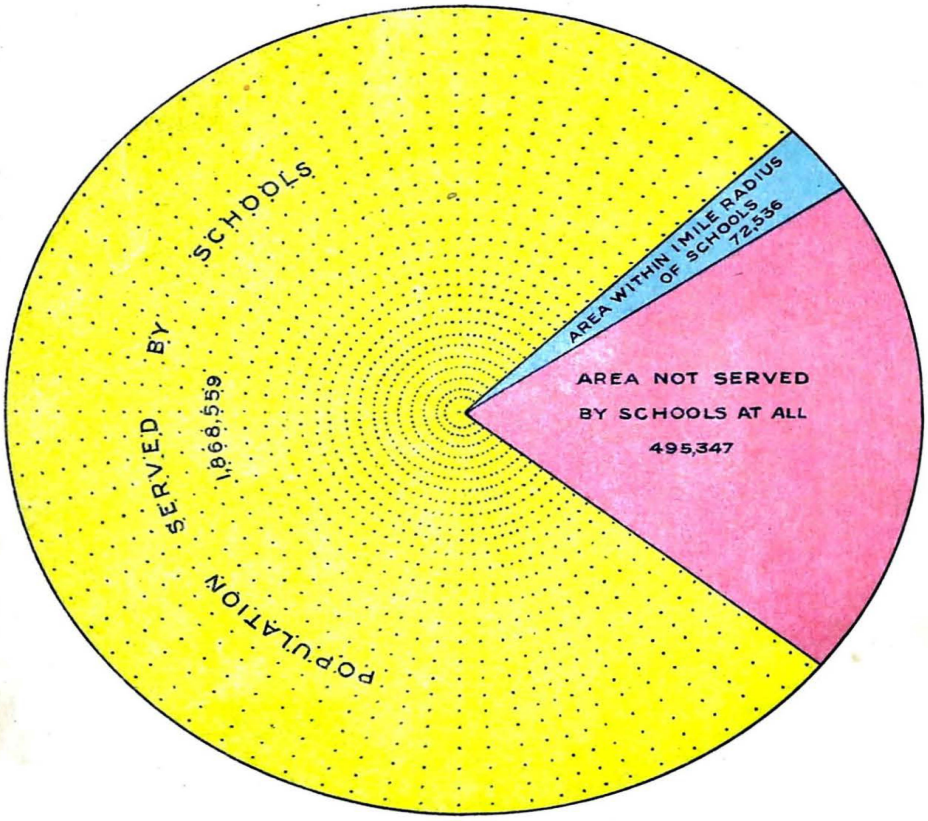
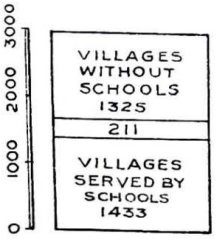
AREA AND POPULATION SERVED BY SCHOOLS





VILLAGES WITHIN 1 MILE RADIUS

NOTE :-

Circle represents 2,436,442 persons out of the total population.

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population of 1,868,559 had schools. 211 villages with a population of 72,536 were within a mile radius of schools and, therefore, could take advantage of them. 1,325 villages with a population of 495,347 had no school facilities at all provided for them. The number of children attending primary schools in the areas in which school facilities were available was 216,667 (136,521 boys and 80,146 girls). This works out at 11·2 per cent on the total population of 1,941,095 of the school-going area. By sex, the proportions are 13.7 for males and 8.5 for females. When we remember that 20 per cent of the population are without schools, and that compulsion is only limited to 80 per cent of the people, two-thirds of the area, and to over half the number of villages in the State, we realise the effectiveness of the compulsory experiment, wherever it has been possible to enforce it. A coloured diagram faces this page which shows the extent of population coming under compulsory education.

324. Progress in Educational Institutions—The following Table shows the variations in the number of institutions and their strength since 1911 :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII

Number of Institutions with their strength since 1901

(FROM EDUCATION DEPARTMENT RETURNS)

Year	Details	Public Institutions						Private Institutions		
		All kinds of Institutions	Arts College	Secondary Schools	Primary Schools	Training Schools	Other Special Institutions	Collegiate	Advanced	Elementary
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1931	*Institutions*	*2,718*	*1*	*49*	*2,519*	*2*	*36*	*1*	*27*	*83*
	Males	150,099	801	8,893	130,329	260	2,247	..	3,794	3,685
	Females	80,905	20	617	78,407	175	121	25	97	1,443
	Total Scholars	*231,004*	*911*	*9,510*	*208,736*	*435*	*2,368*	*25*	*3,891*	*5,128*
1921	*Institutions*	*2,797*	*1*	*41*	*2,639*	*5*	*25*	..	*27*	*59*
	Males	136,951	559	7,947	119,097	382	2,220	..	3,235	2,611
	Females	61,865	13	258	60,408	96	41	..	..	1,049
	Total Scholars	*198,816*	*572*	*8,205*	*180,405*	*478*	*2,261*	..	*3,235*	*3,660*
1911	*Institutions*	*3,026*	*1*	*23*	*2,932*	*2*	*25*	..	*12*	*26*
	Males	130,998	329	4,759	119,587	386	2,402	..	1,818	1,717
	Females	54,479	..	..	53,988	69	90	..	..	332
	Total Scholars	*185,477*	*329*	*4,759*	*173,575*	*455*	*2,492*	..	*1,818*	*2,049*
	Institutions	*1,213*	*1*	*17*	*1,120*	*1*	*23*	..	*4*	*46*
	Males	72,016	236	2,287	63,757	..	1,707	..	639	3,390
	Females	14,428	..	..	13,778	25	419	..	..	206
	Total Scholars	*86,444*	*236*	*2,287*	*77,535*	*25*	*2,126*	..	*639*	*3,596*

The above table shows all round progress in the number of scholars. Girl students have increased by about 48 per cent in the last 20 years. Male students are now 43.5 per cent more than in 1911. While there was no girl studying at the collegiate stage in 1911, there are now 45. In secondary education, the progress is also striking. The number of male students in the secondary stage has nearly doubled, while there are now 617 girls studying English against nil in 1911. In primary schools, however, the number of students has risen only from 173,575 to 208,736 in public schools, *i.e.*, by 20 per cent—boys increasing by over 10 per cent and girls by over 45 per cent since 1911. The general increase in population since 1911 has been also 20 per cent, so that the increase in general school strength may be said to have just kept pace ; taking the sexes separately, however, we find that while the compulsory provisions are being more rigorously and successfully

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worked in respect of girls' attendance, similar efforts in regard to boys have been far from successful. This is due, in the first place, to the restriction of the area of compulsion since 1911, and in the second place to the operation of such extraordinary factors as plague, influenza and famine in 1917-19 and agricultural depression and the occurrence of calamities like the flood and the frost having a disturbing effect on attendance. Whenever these events happen, compulsion is relaxed, fines are no longer collected, schools remain closed and educational progress is therefore hindered.

325. Examination Results—An interesting indication is afforded of the measure of advance in English education by the marginal table given here. The average number of scholars per secondary school has only increased from 182 in 1921 to 194 in the latest year of the decade and yet the average of matriculation candidates sent up for the examination has increased by 44 per cent, showing that the strength of the higher classes in the schools relatively to the total attendance has increased. The higher degree examinations are becoming more popular, but the percentage of passes in the latter has declined.

Examinations	Average 1921-1930		1921	
	Candidates		Candidates	
	Sent up	Passed	Sent up	Passed
Matriculation and School Final.	740	366	514	312
First Year's Course (Including Preliminary Science).	323	185	204	131
Intermediate Arts and Science	286	124	162	73
B. A. (Pass and Honours).	150	71	132	77

§ 5. Miscellaneous Items

326. The Problem of Lapse—We will now conclude this chapter by noticing one or two miscellaneous items. The problem of lapse into illiteracy is always an ever present one in an agricultural population with low intellectual horizons. We can here deal with it only in so far as it affects the variations in the figures of literacy and helps to explain the proportionate changes from year to year. It is possible to treat the question in one of the three ways :—

(*i*) first by estimating the number of literates expected in the census from literacy figures of the past census and the returns of scholars in the fourth vernacular standard in the decade,

(*ii*) by comparison of absolute figures of literates by age-periods of two censuses, and lastly

(*iii*) by a direct reference to the figures of the partially literate.

327. Expected and Actual Literacy—Now the number of literates expected in any one census can be estimated from the returns of schools and the literate population of the previous census ; and this estimate can be compared with the census figure. If it exceeds, then the difference represents the volume of lapse from literacy. If it falls short of the enumerated figure, then it becomes a measure of the latter's accuracy. The recruits to literacy during the decade come really from the children who passed the vernacular third standard examination into the fourth standard. Four years' schooling (including the infant standard) is enough for the purpose of giving the minimum qualification of literacy for census purposes. Very few recruits can come to literacy from other sources and beyond the school-going ages. The chances as well as the leisure for adult education are few indeed. We can take therefore the total of third standard passed children in yearly batches and subject them to the rate of mortality proper for the healthy school-going ages. The survivors of these should be added to the survivors of the literate population of 1921, who should be similarly subjected to a death rate proper to all ages 5 and over, and the result is the figure of expected literacy in 1931. In 1921, a death rate of 8 per mille was assumed for the literacy recruits aged 5-15. From the departmental returns, we find that from July 1921 to the end of 1930, 201,669 children passed into the vernacular fourth and thus qualified to be entered as literate in this census. Now to apply the

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rate of 8 per mille per annum we must remember that each annual batch of 20,167 had on an average 5 years' risk of mortality at that rate. Thus there will be 193,602 survivors. The literate population of 1921 was 272,418. By the Hardy method we have found (in Chapter I, para 28) that 377,559 is the number of deaths on the 1921 population at an average age of 5 and over, which means a death rate of 17.75 per cent for ten years. The literate rate of mortality must be a little less than this. Assuming 15 per cent, the number of survivors in 1931 of the literate population of ten years ago would be $\frac{272,418 \times 85}{100} = 231,555$. So 193,602 + 231,555=425,157, the actual figure of literates expected by normal growth through education. In addition, we have on this occasion to allow for the special factor of migration. The State gained, we have found, by 26,755 *hijratis* and 99,110 other migrants. As the former were largely literate farmers organised through political agitation, and also a portion of the migrants were returned emigrants who were born and presumably educated in the State, we may assume 25 per cent at least of this gain through migration as being literate. This gives a total of 450,330, as the figure of expected literacy. Instead, the census returned only 434,734. Thus the deficit of 15,596 may be put down to lapse from literacy, which works out at 3.5 per cent of the expected result.

328. Comparison by Age-Periods—We can come into closer grips with the problem by taking a particular area and find out by comparing age-periods and applying suitable rates of mortality, how far the enumerated figure of literates falls short of the expected result. For this purpose we shall take up Okhamandal, where the migration factor is negligible. Now the literates of 1931, aged 30 and over are composed of survivors from the literates in the age-group 20–30 and 30 and over in 1921. The mortality rate for the age-period 20-30 of general population is found from the rate of variation in the figure for the age-group 20-30 in 1921 and that for 30-40 in 1931. This is 5.7 per cent. As the literates suffer from a lower mortality rate, we apply 5 per cent rate to the literates aged 20-30 in 1921. Similarly we find 37.5 per cent as the general mortality rate for the age-group 30 and over. For literates, we must reduce it to 25 per cent. Thus for both the age-periods, the survivors among the literates number 2,488. The actual census total of literates for 30 and over in Okhamandal is 2,162, giving a lapse rate of 13.1 per cent of the expected figure. Coming to North Gujarat, we have another division where the variation is mainly due to natural causes, without any disturbing factors such as *hijratis* that vitiate the calculations in South and Central Gujarat. We apply the same rates of mortality as above, *viz.*, 5 per cent for ages 20-30 and 25 per cent for 30 and over. Here the expected result is 42,583 while the census figure is 44,099. But we have not allowed anything at all for migration. The gain, although it forms only a small portion of the census increase of 109,429 there, it is considerable enough to affect the above comparison. Assuming 10 per cent of the above increase to be due to migration of persons aged 30 and over and 25 per cent of the migrants to be literate, we have to add a further sum of 2,736 on account of these literate migrants. Our total of expected literates aged 30 and over in North Gujarat in 1931 is thus 45,319, giving a lapse rate of 2.7 per cent. But this is far from correct as the division is predominantly agricultural and the lapse from literacy is far more prevalent amongst persons engaged on the land than amongst other communities. This is indicated also by the increase of the partially literate from 6,399 in 1921 to 38,201 in this census in this division.

329. The Increase in the Partially Literate—Lastly, the study of absolute figures of persons able to read only helps to throw further light on the problem of lapse. We have estimated above a deficit of 15,596 persons (*vide* para 327) who should have retained literacy but who are not returned as such in this census. Now the partially literate have increased by over five times this census, but the greatest increase has happened in the ages 5-10 and 10-15, the figures for which show a jump of 557 per cent. This abnormal increase is entirely due to the reopening of the infant class in the vernacular schools in the last decade, which was closed for some years before the Census of 1921. The number of those who were able to read only aged 10 and over in 1921 was 16,758. The survivors of those who have failed to attain literacy are now aged 20 and over. The number of the partially literate who are aged 20 and over in 1931 is 38,411. The crude variation in the figures of two censuses is thus an increase of 21,663. But to this must be added the losses through death on one hand and promotion to literacy on the other. Allowing 10 per cent for these two factors, we get 23,829 as the figure representing the partial failures of educational effort during the decade. On an average, 35,000 children enter school every year ; thus on a decade's attendance of 350,000 new children brought under educational influences, 201,669 (admitted to the fourth standard) may be said to have passed the literacy test, 23,829 are partial failures and the rest remain illiterate. These figures work out to 576, 68 and 356 per mille respectively.

330. Comparison with British Gujarat—Now it will be profitable to compare the literacy results of this State with the corresponding figures of British Gujarat. The results of the literacy race with its neighbour in the last four censuses are shown in the margin. It proves conclusively how this State

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started with a heavy handicap in 1901 and rapidly improving its position in the intervening censuses, has now left British Gujarat far behind. It is possible that the non-co-operation movement had something to do with influencing the figures for British Gujarat, but it only affected the results in Ahmedabad City, which being an industrial area has always a low literacy ratio. If it be suggested that *hijratis* helped a great deal in raising the State literacy ratio the reader may be assured that this is not the case. The *hijratis* consisted of 14,424 males and 12,331 females; they contained a larger number of children than the normal migrant family should have, but even if we exclude the whole lot from the general population and deduct from the literate totals the literate *hijratis* (calculated at 25 per cent and distributed by sex according to the ratio obtaining among the total literate population) the ratio for male literacy in the whole State is only reduced thereby from 331 to 329, while the female literacy remains at the same figure, *i.e.*, 79. The above comparison illustrates effectively the success of the compulsory experiment in this State. We have not the figures by age-periods regarding British Gujarat and it is not worth while delaying this Report for that detail, for in the 1921 Report, it was shown that even though for all ages British Gujarat had then the lead, in the adolescent groups 10-15 and 15-20, this State showed greater progress. There can be no doubt that in this respect also Baroda has improved upon its lead in this census.

Year	Proportion of literates per mille aged 5 and over			
	Baroda State		British Gujarat	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1901	180	9	227	18
1911	206	24	234	31
1921	240	47	254	48
1931	331	79	254	46

Province or State	Proportion of literates per 1,000 aged 5 and over		
	Persons	Male	Female
British India—			
Ajmer Merwara.. ..	103	203	35
Assam	91	152	23
Bengal	110	180	32
Bihar and Orissa ..	50	95	8
Bombay	108	174	32
Burma	367	560	164
Central Provinces ..	60	110	11
Madras	108	187	30
Punjab	59	95	15
Delhi	163	226	72
United Provinces ..	54	94	11
States—			
Central India Agency..	52	92	9
Cochin	337	460	220
Gwalior	47	78	11
Hyderabad	47	83	10
Mysore	106	174	33
Rajputana	54	94	11
Travancore	288	408	168
Baroda	**209**	**331**	**79**

331. Comparison with other States and Provinces in India—In general literacy the position of this State as compared to the other principal provinces or states in India can be understood from the marginal figures. It will appear that Burma has retained its leadership in literacy. Travancore and Cochin have continued as expected to be in advance of this State. But on the other hand progress achieved in this State is actually more rapid than in most other provinces and states. Burma for instance shows only an increase of 50 per mille in male literacy against our 91. In Travancore, female literacy has actually declined since 1921. The presence of large Christian populations in Travancore and Cochin helps to force up their literacy while the presence of a large Raniparaj element hampers progress here.

Province or State	Literate per mille aged 5 and over			
	1931		1921	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Burma..	560	164	510	112
Cochin	460	220	317	115
Travancore.. ..	408	168	380	173
Baroda	**331**	**79**	**240**	**47**

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332. Comparison in English Literacy—The situation in respect of English education is not so favourable to this State by comparison with other provinces and states. The educational policy hitherto followed here has concentrated on primary education and it is only within the last ten years that English schools have multiplied. Here again we see the rate of progress in this State actually more fast than in many provinces and states.

Province or State	Number of literate in English per 1,000			
	Male		Female	
	1931	1921	1931	1921
Baroda State	**28**	**15**	**2**	**1**
(1) Cochin	58	35	16	8
(2) Bengal	43	34	5	2
(3) Bombay	32	23	7	4
(4) Travancore	31	25	7	6
(5) Madras	26	19	4	2
(6) British Gujarat ..	24	20	2	2
(7) Burma	21	16	5	4
Baroda City	**166**	**118**	**23**	**13**
Bombay City ..	153	118	78	40

333. Comparison of Baroda with other Countries in point of Literacy—In concluding this chapter we set out for the reader the following details of literacy in other parts of the world :—

(1) In the United States of America, illiteracy amongst persons aged 10 and over decreased from 17 per cent in 1880 to only 6 per cent in 1920. The American Negro has a literacy ratio of 77 per cent (for ten years and over) which is higher than some of our most advanced castes.

(2) In France in 1928, from the data regarding conscripts, it could be said that literacy amongst adults aged 20 and over amounted to 90 per cent.

(3) In Hungary, 15·2 per cent of the population over six years of age were illiterate.

(4) But we may be happy in the thought that in certain other countries, like Spain, where literacy is only 46.3 per cent (amongst persons aged six and over), Portugal, where in 1920, 54.7 per cent were still unable to read and write, and Turkey where according to the Census of 1927, only 8 per cent were found literate in Arabic characters, conditions of things are somewhat more comparable with Baroda, and India generally, than in the countries previously mentioned.

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX

LITERACY IN TOWNS

TOWN	PROPORTION OF LITERATES TO TOTAL POPULATION (PER MILLE)									
	All Ages 7 and over		7—13		14—16		17—23		24 and over	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Baroda City	579	220	447	275	679	411	665	301	573	109
Amreli	596	207	461	308	758	431	717	272	594	119
Damnagar	537	191	321	282	738	449	649	248	562	100
Dhari	526	210	386	260	688	500	648	330	520	94
Kodinar	478	131	319	180	614	218	609	195	492	75
Bahadarpur	448	113	322	151	587	214	512	176	452	67
Bhadran	619	272	513	270	804	546	776	463	573	183
Dabhoi	539	189	347	140	707	239	636	167	825	79
Dharmaj	623	297	482	342	829	618	818	562	586	170
Karjan	447	97	232	85	494	124	502	149	486	72
Makarpura	415	84	338	140	571	257	420	58	415	48
Mehlav	483	168	363	214	680	493	696	374	451	70
Nar	561	206	343	221	783	528	757	426	547	108
Padra	605	160	434	233	776	349	788	292	594	81
Petlad	522	138	324	132	653	242	636	200	532	106
Pij	572	196	461	245	737	503	711	386	545	94
Sankheda	581	102	433	135	698	231	672	156	592	60
Savli	466	108	309	168	593	267	613	178	464	47
Sinor	578	158	351	196	676	273	673	232	618	108
Sojitra	668	260	493	294	863	548	829	435	660	172
Vaghodia	525	125	396	153	712	286	707	215	495	62
Vaso	566	193	434	254	803	375	743	352	526	103
Atarsumba	561	192	315	216	637	384	618	361	631	113
Chanasma	509	106	389	160	707	279	698	181	464	44
Dehgam	470	141	364	153	558	319	536	260	474	85
Dhinoj	501	101	222	86	536	248	512	206	423	53
Kadi	511	115	360	154	617	244	608	176	518	68
Kalol	481	98	312	136	576	180	603	148	531	57
Kheralu	373	61	284	88	482	163	462	97	361	30
Ladol	421	71	214	100	656	216	612	102	403	30
Mehsana	503	140	369	170	635	230	582	211	579	92
Patan	550	182	435	207	707	350	673	270	535	123
Sidhpur	493	146	313	138	515	257	550	248	541	100
Unava	537	210	404	262	714	418	742	380	508	119
Unjha	468	111	350	134	780	295	737	203	409	40
Vadnagar	464	82	265	99	697	208	654	164	473	40
Vijapur	446	81	297	96	646	225	584	134	437	40
Visnagar	534	129	360	168	673	285	682	217	536	76
Bilimora	536	193	312	206	733	437	688	260	544	135
Gandevi	607	238	394	291	830	547	751	312	624	163
Kathor	570	202	310	251	735	436	716	289	602	127
Mahuva	522	274	284	264	721	519	654	418	546	185
Navsari	583	297	391	265	712	429	689	372	611	269
Palsana	552	212	254	237	798	455	691	333	601	126
Songadh	446	189	311	221	483	289	519	295	470	120
Variav	590	149	267	188	686	233	564	216	535	104
Vyara	501	192	331	171	648	271	583	282	517	160
Beyt	450	136	227	208	595	239	560	186	375	90
Dwarka	585	207	363	250	736	356	668	277	618	157

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE X

Literacy by Caste

Castes Selected	Number per 1,000 who are Literate						Number per 10,000 who are Literate in English					
	1931			1921			1931			1921		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Advanced	459	687	210	..	..	..	497	918	39	..	..	..
Hindu and Jain	*467*	*694*	*215*	..	..	..	*530*	*972*	*41*	..	..	..
Bhavsar (Hindu and Jain)	449	722	171	376	674	95	229	443	12	98	198	9
Brahmabhatt and Barot (Hindu and Jain)	330	567	89	188	299	70	224	441	2	60	117	..
Brahman	*542*	*780*	*284*	*429*	*669*	*178*	*993*	*1,838*	*89*	*537*	*1,014*	*36*
Anavala	626	871	358	457	678	207	1,080	2,037	33	561	1,030	7
Audich	489	745	229	394	644	136	645	1,259	18	292	564	10
Deshastha	706	927	443	587	838	312	2,652	4,560	392	1,562	2,869	128
Khedawal	576	844	296	491	747	209	1,124	2,196	..	668	1,261	13
Konkanstha	758	951	528	640	845	381	3,274	5,582	475	1,988	3,364	242
Mewada	484	751	175	359	604	93	527	977	5	224	431	..
Modh	508	780	244	429	684	175	672	1,333	31	357	704	11
Nagar	665	869	467	552	772	338	2,046	3,820	322	1,233	2,364	135
Tapodhan	354	565	143	229	391	68	304	609	..	104	195	14
Other Brahmans	553	758	294	374	634	103	918	1,545	129	341	595	73
Ghanchi	406	688	112	308	548	54	117	228	2	33	63	2
Kachhia (Khambhar)	402	668	115	257	442	54	160	299·8	9	32	61	..
Lewa Patidar (Hindu and Jain)	395	595	163	259	414	79	249	457	8	104	192	2
Luhana	488	780	185	382	665	103	324	628	9	169	337	4
Maratha Kshatriya	385	537	191	368	545	157	874	1,422	179	499	823	110
Prabhu	774	896	646	665	842	460	3,714	6,184	1,132	2,491	4,125	602
Soni	517	811	203	412	671	136	136	260	4	78	146	1
Sutar	343	566	110	215	361	58	75	145	1	26	49	1
Vania (Hindu and Jain)	*606*	*879*	*319*	*518*	*800*	*224*	*795*	*1,516*	*35*	*420*	*800*	*25*
Disawal	605	897	305	504	769	241	1,070	2,096	17	484	933	32
Kapol	661	899	398	557	826	254	1,019	1,869	82	495	924	11
Khadayata	623	913	287	521	776	186	1,096	2,003	40	494	845	34
Lad	609	899	283	505	791	213	1,191	2,242	13	585	1,101	9
Porwad	610	866	332	..	..	..	763	1,425	44	..	..	..
Shrimali	591	865	320	522	814	227	889	1,648	34	295	558	29
Other Vanias	619	883	326	516	811	219	891	1,659	40	587	1,146	22
Muslim	*379*	*610*	*154*	*238*	*401*	*75*	*162*	*313*	*15*	*73*	*102*	*3*
Khoja	492	713	268	220	262	127	324	598	47	81	113	12
Memon	355	603	105	155	258	46	51	95	8	7	13	..
Pinjara	298	522	81	234	415	49	49	100	..	20	40	..
Saiyad	348	557	124	227	390	57	277	510	26	107	204	5
Vohra (Agricultural)	328	550	126	277	468	95	82	163	9	101	202	3
Vohra (Trading)	505	763	262				278	551	20			
Intermediate	180	308	47	..	..	..	38	76	5	..	..	..
Hindu, Jain and Tribal	*174*	*298*	*45*	..	..	..	*25*	*49*	*0.7*	..	..	..
Anjana Chaudhari	144	259	22	74	138	9	20	39	..	6	11	1
Baria	130	221	27	12	20	3	0.7	1.3	..	2	2.3	1
Bava and Gosain	308	469	77	211	329	37	81	138	..	27	45	..
Chamar	71	132	14	27	50	3	4	8	..	1	2	..
Darji (Hindu and Jain)	289	481	119	184	317	64	38	79	1.4	21	43	0.1

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE X—*concld.*

LITERACY BY CASTE

CASTES SELECTED	NUMBER PER 1,000 WHO ARE LITERATE						NUMBER PER 10,000 WHO ARE LITERATE IN ENGLISH					
	1931			1921			1931			1921		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Garoda	256	458	75	120	222	21	16	33	..	12	25	..
Gola (Rice-pounders)	264	481	55	190	369	22	66	130	3.9	27	55	..
Kadwa Patidar (Hindu and Jain)	217	387	46	122	219	18	36	71	1.2	21	41	..
Karadia	202	295	110	24	47	..	2.9	5.9	..	..	..	..
Kumbhar (Hindu and Jain)	163	276	48	88	148	24	20	40	0.5	6	12	.5
Luhar	275	474	85	169	302	40	44	85	3.4	21	42	..
Mochi (Hindu and Jain)	301	488	109	197	313	73	35	67	2.4	16	30	..
Patanwadia	110	190	24	..	..	..	4.2	8	..	..	..	..
Primitive and Forest Tribes (Hindu and Tribal)	*73*	*137*	*15*	*38*	*71*	*2*	*2.1*	*4*	..	*9*	*18*	..
Chodhra	69	120	13	37	72	.1	3.6	7	..	17	32	..
Dhanka	86	138	29.6	14	27	.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dhodia	92	162	17	47	86	7	..	..	..	1.1	2.2	..
Rajput (Hindu and Jain)	193	324	48	130	225	25	40	76	1.0	16	31	..
Sathwara	204	350	68	99	195	16	13	28	..	6	13	..
Talabda	181	315	50	..	..	..	35	70	0.4	..	..	..
Targala (Hindu and Jain)	300	485	148	186	336	73	61	130	4.2	43	101	..
Valand	227	382	77	133	228	33	55	112	..	18	35	1
Vankar	125	209	44	45	79	10	12	25	0.4	3	6	..
Muslim	*221*	*376*	*49*	*166*	*286*	*33*	*93*	*176*	*2*	*42*	*75*	*5*
Fakir	183	307	41	117	199	20	47	88	..	..	..	..
Ghanchi	307	498	98	177	303	40	126	242	..	61	113	6
Malek	174	324	22	125	226	15	62	123	..	19	36	..
Molesalam	221	395	30.5	140	258	9	56	105	2.3	4	7	..
Momna	134	249	22	180	328	36	22	44	..	6	13	..
Pathan	258	419	56	178	296	32	145	258	3.4	71	117	13
Shaikh	256	417	68	186	310	47	134	246	4	75	134	8
Sindhi	146	258	19	93	156	13	29	55	..	9	16	..
Tai	254	447	75	257	484	49	128	261	5.6	22	46	..
Indian Christian	*382*	*499.6*	*251*	*232*	*294*	*159*	*933*	*1,175*	*662*	*543*	*564*	*518*
Illiterate	36	62	7	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	56	96	15	29	50	8	2.4	4.7	..	1	2	..
Bharwad (Rabari)	27	45	8	24	36	11	2.4	4.8	..	..	..	..
Chunvalia	62	93	28	..	..	..	6.2	12	..	..	..	..
Primitive and Forest Tribes (Hindu and Tribal)	*39*	*69*	*8*	*15*	*27*	*3*	*1*	*3*	..	*.7*	*1.4*	..
Bhil	46	82	7	13	22	2	0.7	1.3	..	..	..	..
Dubla	55	95	16	18	31	5	3	6	..	1	2	..
Gamit	32	55	7	14	26	1	1.7	3.3	..	1	2	..
Nayakda	44	78	7	22	37	6	1.1	2.1	..	1	2	..
Tadvi	45	82	5	..	..	..	1.2	2.3	..	..	..	..
Talavia	38	64	11	..	..	..	1.7	3.4	..	..	..	..
Vasawa	25	47	2	..	..	..	.7	1.4	..	..	..	..
Ravalia	51	90	10	23	38	6	2.3	4.4	..	..	1	..
Shenva	25	45	2	11	20	2	..	..	..	2	4	..
Thakarda (Hindu and Jain)	32	56	3	..	..	..	1.6	3.1	..	..	..	..
Vagher	25	45	2	29	30	27	4.8	9.2	..	9	11	7
Vaghri	23	38	7	16	26	3	1.4	2.7	..	2	4	..

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI

Proportion of Literacy at Certain Ages

Age-Group	Total Population			Proportion of Literate Per Mille			Proportion of English Literate per Ten Mille		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7—13	410,148	216,678	193,470	174	231	111	30	48	10
14—16	167,596	87,336	80,260	335	476	182	269	467	52
17—23	315,786	158,328	157,458	299	467	130	338	639	36
24 and over	1,087,262	560,262	527,000	195	338	44	143	267	12

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XII

Progress of Literacy Since 1881

Natural Division	Number of Literate per Mille											
	All Ages 10 and over											
	Males						Females					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Baroda State	361	277	229	199	155	107	80	51	25	9	6	2
Baroda City	590	600	472	427	377	289	214	218	84	27	25	7
Central Gujarat excluding City	409	293	250	238	165	108	81	48	20	7	3	1
Central Gujarat including City	437	338	284	270	198	135	99	71	30	10	6	2
Kathiawad	398	311	260	187	173	135	122	71	40	7	5	1
North Gujarat	294	215	173	137	111	73	53	30	12	3	3	1
South Gujarat	341	289	226	219	179	130	88	58	33	25	13	5

Natural Division	Number of Literate per Mille															
	15—20								20 and over							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Baroda State	470	354	258	206	147	105	40	13	354	265	217	208	55	34	16	7
Baroda City	667	766	541	449	326	370	151	49	587	562	460	430	174	172	63	21
Central Gujarat excluding City	542	389	305	216	160	105	42	10	400	278	230	245	52	28	11	5
Central Gujarat including City	562	443	343	285	184	143	60	17	428	320	266	278	68	48	19	8
Kathiawad	521	425	294	215	223	169	71	11	388	290	237	194	79	39	21	5
North Gujarat	399	275	176	142	103	66	16	3	282	202	165	143	34	18	7	2
South Gujarat	428	350	270	240	148	103	45	38	346	285	219	224	68	44	26	22

NOTE.—Proportional figures for the year 1881 have been calculated for all ages, 6 and over. Persons aged 15 and over who were returned as "learning" in 1881 and 1891 have been reckoned as "literate" in the calculation of the above proportions.

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APPENDIX VI

THE BARODA LIBRARY SYSTEM*

1. Introductory—The remarkable advance of literacy which has already been recorded in the body of the Report is due in no small measure to the development of a library system which the State inaugurated in 1910. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad is the pioneer in India of free and compulsory education; while watching the results of this bold and statesmanlike experiment, His Highness soon found that a large proportion of the students who passed through the elementary school tended to relapse into illiteracy in after life. The solution to this problem of retention in later years of literacy acquired in childhood, occurred to His Highness when he observed the value of free public libraries to mass education, during his tours in the U. S. A. in 1906 and 1910. He made a beginning in 1907-8 by giving liberal grants to the public libraries of his State. Three years later he brought out to Baroda Mr. W. A. Borden, an American library expert, to organise a State Library department. Mr. Borden during his three years' tenure of office conducted a library training class, organised the Central Library and a travelling library system, and planned a network of free public libraries throughout the State. His successor, Mr. J. S. Kudalkar, who was sent abroad to make a survey of the library systems of the world died prematurely in 1921 and since then Mr. N.M. Dutt, F.L.A., who has been associated with the Baroda Central Library since 1913, is the Curator of Libraries and head of the organisation.

2. The Library Organisation—The Library department under the general supervision of the Commissioner of Education is entirely supported by the State, which spent over a lac of rupees over it in the 1930-31 budget, nearly half this sum being distributed in grants to free libraries. The staff consists of the Curator, an Assistant Curator, 11 librarians and senior assistants (including 2 ladies) besides subordinates and menials. There are two main parts of the organisation: The Central Library under the direct supervision of the Curator and the country libraries which are looked after by the Assistant Curator.

3. The Central Library—The Central library situated in the heart of the capital is a free, public and open access library comprising of the following sections: newspaper reading room, lending, reference, ladies' and children's libraries, children's play room, bindery and general office. The total stock of books in the Central library alone is 99,586 volumes. The circulation in 1930-31 was 119,858 books of which 25 per cent were English books. The daily average issue was 437.44 books which is a remarkable record in a City containing 44,817 literates and people able to read only. No other library in India could boast of such a circulation. The Reference library which contains the largest collection of books in India on bibliography and library economy, helps not only local scholars and research workers but answers enquiries from outside the State and even from foreign countries. The Ladies' library is highly popular and 22,356 books were lent out of it last year. The children's play room and library which has become one of the show places of Baroda is visited by nearly 28,000 children every year who are free to read or amuse themselves in the gaily decorated halls with practically every variety of indoor game and juvenile literature at their disposal. Other activities of the Central library include the foundation of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series now set up independently as the Oriental Institute under the direction of an eminent Sanskrit research scholar. The institute possesses 21,362 books and manuscripts and has hitherto published over 70 volumes of critical editions of rare unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts. Further the Central library extends its activities beyond the State in library propaganda, the following to enumerate but a few of them, being the more important: it conducted an illustrated quarterly in three languages entitled "The Library Miscellany" (1911-19) to preach the 'library gospel'; its editor and the then curator Mr. Kudalkar presided over the All-India Library Conference in Madras in 1919: the cult of library exhibitions was started by the Baroda Central Library which sent exhibits as far away as Wembley and Rome, besides exhibiting in India at Benares, Madras,

*Prepared from notes furnished by the Central Library department.

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Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Gwalior. The present curator presided over Library Service Section of the All-Asia Educational Conference at Benares in 1930. The Library also trains students from institutions of other provinces and states in this kind of work.

4. **The District Libraries**—While the Central library caters to the epicurean tastes of the cultivated metropolitan palate, the humble district libraries' branch without any such patrician pretentions, is doing greater good to the greater number by giving the everyday bread of learning to the masses. The chief function of this branch is the organisation, control and subsidising of State-aided libraries. The minor functions are managing the travelling libraries and the visual instruction section. The travelling library section has a stock of 20,228 books, and circulated 15,262 volumes last year through 147 centres. The system consists in lending to responsible institutions or persons boxes of 15-30 books for circulation in different localities. The Department pays freight both ways. There are 'fixed' and 'elastic' sets of books, the former being on particular subjects or authors and the latter answering to the varying demands of particular localities. The visual instruction section started in 1912 is now temporarily transferred to the Sanitation department for helping in the scheme of village uplift. The section has an equipment of magic lantern and cinema apparatus for peripatetic demonstrations among rural areas for the edification of the illiterate masses.

5. **The Modus Operandi of Country Libraries**—Reverting to the chief function of this branch, its procedure can be summarised as follows: when a village, town or district-town community collects amounts upto Rs. 100, 300 or 700 respectively, the department grants an equal sum and the Prant Panchayat or District Board does likewise—sometimes also the local municipality. For a library building, if one-third of the estimated expense is collected by the local library committee the Department and the Panchayat find the other two-thirds. Finally for a nucleus for a new library the department gives a subsidy of Rs. 75 if the quarter share of the hundred is found by the local committee. The committees are elected by the contributors and are practically autonomous so long as they conform to the simple rules of accounts, etc. laid down by the department. Further they are not left entirely to their own devices but are encouraged to keep in touch with the assistant curator who tours the districts from time to time and holds discussions with library workers. In autumn, secretaries and librarians are invited from rural areas to undergo a short period of training at Baroda. A Gujarati monthly, '*Pustakalaya*,' devoted to the library cause is maintained by the department and this along with a classified catalogue already published, helps the various libraries in the selection of Gujarati books. A co-operative supply society is established by the associated libraries for wholesale economical purchase of books and periodicals. Since 1925 the Baroda District Libraries Conference has met five times. The people of the State have responded satisfactorily to these efforts. 773 free public libraries have been hitherto established with an aggregate stock of 573,170 volumes independent of the Central and Travelling libraries stocks and with a circulation of 402,286 among 75,535 readers. 111 libraries have their own buildings. There are 216 reading rooms. The vogue of ladies' and children's libraries has hitherto brought into existence 10 such enterprises. Apart from all these there are a few independent subscription libraries which are doing well.

6. **Progress of the Library Movement**—The marginal table shows the progress since the last two censuses. The average number of books per library is now 920 which was 655 in 1920-21, and 309 in 1911-12. The number of institutions have increased by 23 per cent, stock of books by 73, circulation by 60, and number of readers by 39 per cent in the last ten years. The growth since 1911 is nothing less than phenomenal. The four diagrams given below illustrate respectively :—

Year	Central Library, Baroda and Oriental Institute	Other Libraries	No. of libraries which own buildings	No. of books		No. of Readers
				Stock	Circulation	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1911-12 ..	1	274	20	84,554	92,787	36,277
1920-21 ..	1	627	82	411,673	329,899	62,732
1930-31 ..	2*	773	111	714,346	540,872	87,442

* In 1926-27 the Sanskrit section of the Central Library was separately established as "The Oriental Institute."

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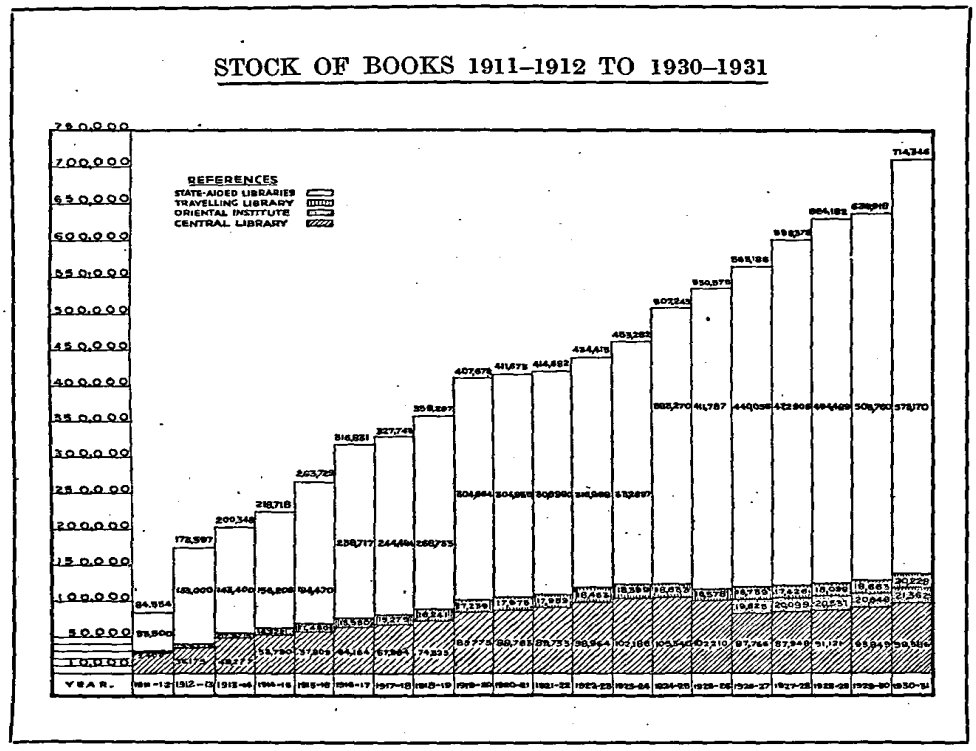
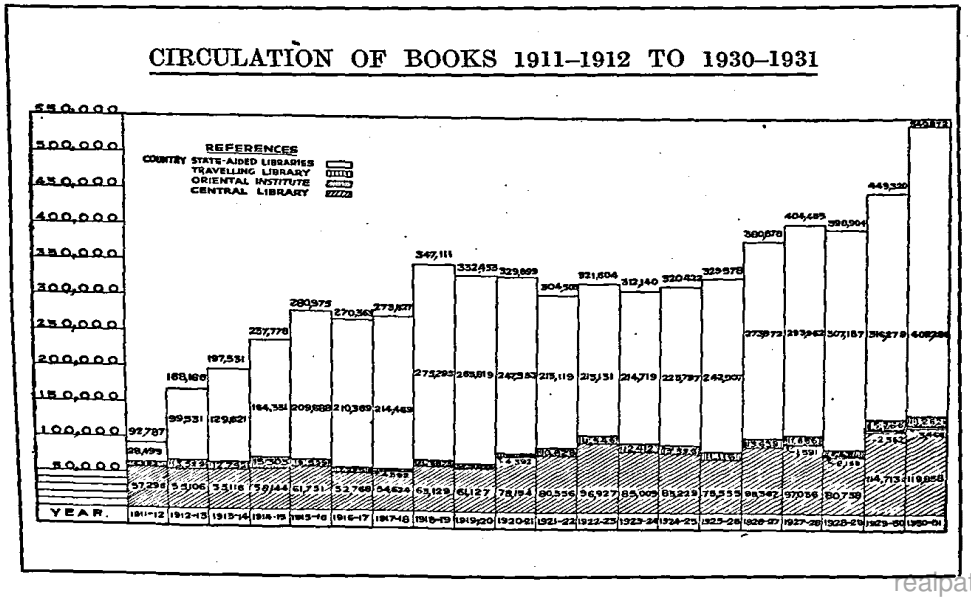
(*i*) the actual increase in the stock of books in the State-aided country libraries year by year since 1911-12 ;



(*ii*) the increase in the circulation of books during the same period,



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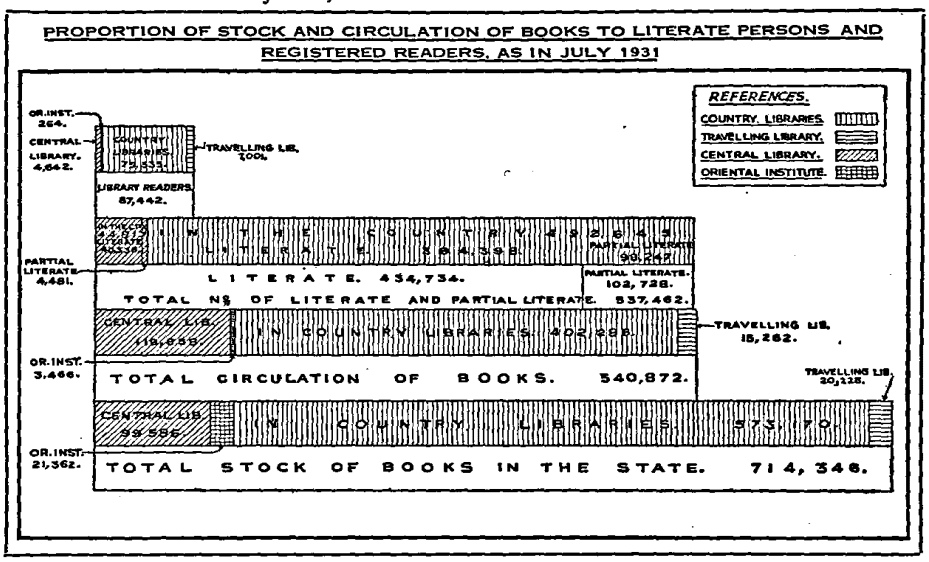
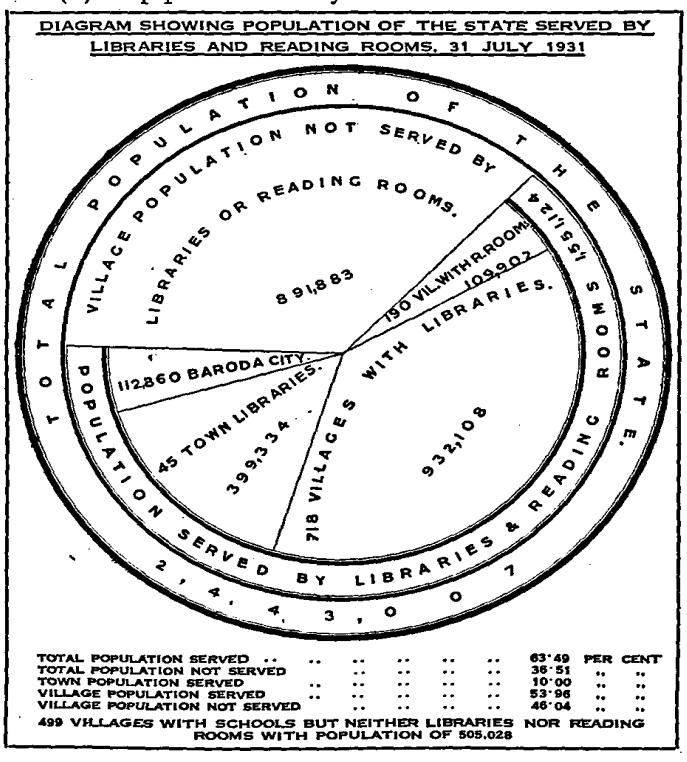
(*iii*) the proportion of stock and circulation of books to number of literates and registered readers as in July 1931, and



(*iv*) the population served by libraries.



7. Conclusion— The above diagrams speak for themselves. This phenomenal development would not have been possible if the benevolent efforts of an enlightened Government were not reciprocated by the co-operation of an intelligent and responsive populace. The success of the system is due to no inconsiderable measure to the succession of the men at its helm. Mr. Borden in inaugurating the department brought to bear a lifelong experience of American libraries as well as his native genius for organisation. His successor, Mr. Kudalkar, laid the foundation of the Oriental Institute. The present Curator, Mr. N. M. Dutt, who has been associated with the library movement for over 18 years is recognised as one of the leading library experts and an enthusiastic propagandist in that line in India. He has raised the institution to its foremost place in India. His assistant also is well known for long and close association with district library organisation.

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CHAPTER X

LANGUAGE

§ 1. General Distribution of Languages

334. Introductory—We now come to the language returns. Statistics regarding the distribution of languages and the prevalence of bilingualism have been compiled from the responses to columns 14 and 15 of the census questionnaire. Column 14 required the language ordinarily used in the home to be entered. For this purpose, the instructions emphasised that only "the mother tongue," *i.e.*, the language as first spoken from the cradle was to be entered. It was further laid down in respect of the infant or the deaf-mute that the language of the mother was to be entered in that column. In spite of these express instructions, the perverse humourist could not be gainsaid. I remember, at one of the census meetings, to have been confronted with the poser "What if the mother herself was a deaf-mute ?" No set of instructions however could ever hope to be fool-proof. The intention has all along been to record the person's own natural home vernacular. Instructions to carry this out have been progressively improved from census to census : in 1891, the person's "parent tongue" was required to be entered. But this often led to mistakes, where, as occasionally happened, a person changed his domicile or took to his home a wife speaking a different language. In 1901, it was directed that "the language ordinarily used" was to be entered. This also did not serve the purpose, as immigrants often entered the language of their domicile, instead of their own mother tongue. In 1911 and 1921, the instructions were made more definite in that only the language used in the home, or the mother tongue was to be entered. This materially helped in the accuracy of the returns, as "*matri bhasha*" (mother tongue) is well understood in the Indian languages, and the ordinary Indian villager readily distinguishes the language he speaks from other tongues. In 1931, these instructions were carefully elaborated, and in addition, column 15 was devised for the record of subsidiary languages in order to measure the extent of the interaction of different languages on one another. For column 15, the instructions were to "enter the language or languages habitually spoken by a person *in addition to his mother-tongue*, in his or her daily avocations." This was a special feature of the language census of this year, and it will be well to premise our consideration of the language figures by stating the consequences that resulted from this change.

335. Results of the above change—As was pointed out in the 1921 Report, one of the real difficulties that usually militate against the accuracy of the language return is the factor of bilingualism. There are large classes in the State,—the bulk of the foreign element Muslims, the Deccani castes, the speakers of Kachchhi and a large section of the Raniparaj—all these speak one other language besides their home vernacular. There used to be only one column for language in the census schedule, and in such cases of bilingualism, it was left to the enumerator or to the compilation staff to re-edit the returns with a view to have one language compiled per individual. In spite of specific instructions that only the language used by the womenkind—the home vernacular—was to be entered, the return was not an accurate one of the language distribution, nor was it a true index of the extent to which certain dominant languages were displacing other less developed tongues. The addition of a new column for subsidiary languages had an important bearing on these circumstances. Mainly there have been two kinds of consequences. On the one hand, it has led to a correcter estimate of languages like the Bhili which were supposed to be gradually giving way to the influence of Gujarati and other tongues of civilisation. As the schedule now made room for both the languages

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of the home and the language for outside consumption (so to speak), it was natural that both should be returned: previously where there was only a choice between say Gujarati and Bhili, the latter was very often discarded, and the enumerator, more often than not through personal predilection or some other similar motive, chose the former. The additional column, therefore, in these cases has been helpful in getting a more accurate record. But on the other hand in respect of Muslims in particular, there is reason to believe that the census was used in many cases for returning Hindustani rather than Gujarati, even though the latter language happened to be the natural home language. There was some little agitation amongst them when the census instructions were first issued, as they thought their mother tongue was being slighted by their not being allowed to return Urdu as their vernacular; but it subsided when it was explained to them that Urdu and Hindi were terms signifying scripts and that "Hindustani" was the proper term for the medium of speech. After this, a tendency was noticed particularly amongst Muslim enumerators and other census staff, to return Hindustani even for classes like Pinjara and the like as their home tongue, instead of Gujarati which is their real vernacular. Secondly, amongst those sections, which did return Gujarati as vernacular, there was a tendency noticeable to show Hindustani also as subsidiary. Where the latter contingency happened, it may be taken at once to be evidence of a genuine movement. Sections of Muslims who are local converts and are known as Neo-Muslims are being gradually subjected through communal considerations to an intensive *Muslimisation*, one most characteristic feature of which is the enthusiasm shown for learning Urdu, instead of the local vernacular. But the cases of the first category, doubtless, would fall into the class of deliberate falsification of returns, from which no census however carefully conducted is free. Other cases, of wilful, or rather playful, falsification were the eagerness of many educated Hindus to return English, in spite of express instructions to the contrary, as their subsidiary language. Mere capacity to understand English or any other language besides the vernacular was not enough: he must habitually use it for his business and other purposes, before he can return it as a subsidiary. Occasionally the claim went to laughable lengths—sixth standard students of English schools claiming English as a subsidiary language. We, therefore, decided not to compile English at all as a subsidiary language.

336. Reference to Statistics—The results are compiled in the three parts of Imperial Table XV. Part A gives the general distribution of languages spoken as mother tongues and classified according to the scheme devised by the Linguistic Survey. Part B indicates the area and extent of Bilingualism. The five principal languages of the State have been selected for this Part, as also for Part C, where Polylingualism in so far as it relates to these tongues has been compiled. State Table VI—Part B correlates the figures of the principal languages with literacy in Hindi and Urdu separately and in these two scripts combined.

337. General Language Distribution—Altogether 56 languages and dialects have been separately compiled in the Language Table XV—A. Of these 37 are languages and 19 dialects (counting Kachchhi as a dialect of Sindhi and the Bhil group as separate dialects). 24 of these are languages or dialects of India and 13 belonged to outside India. Of these 13, no less than six languages were from Europe. No dialects were recorded as in 1911, except Kachchhi, Konkani, Banjari and the Bhil dialects. Banjari which was wrongly included in previous censuses under the Bhil group is now shown under Rajasthani. Two gypsy languages appear for the first time—Odki and Pendhari with 115 and 6 speakers respectively. So do Sinhalese with one speaker, Russian (one female), Ugandi and Hebrew. The last named must be the result of a fanciful claim on the part of a Jewish family. Japanese (like Buddhism in the Religion Table) owes its place in the returns to the accident of a Japanese ship touching Port Okha on the census date. The comparative strength for the two censuses of the main languages spoken in the State and their proportional variations for three censuses are given in the following Subsidiary Table:—

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Distribution of the Total Population by Language

Language	Total number of speakers		Variation since 1921	Proportionate Strength per mille			Where chiefly spoken
	1931	1921		1931	1921	1911	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Gujarati	2,119,551	1,867,343	+ 13.5	868	878	864	Everywhere
Bhil dialects	180,384	145,856	+ 23.6	74	68	72	Rani Mahals and Sankheda and Tilakwada Mahals
Western Hindi	78,188	62,367	+ 25.4	32	30	36	City, Central and North Gujarat
Rajasthani	7,246	4,453	+ 62.8	3	2	2	City, Central and North Gujarat
Marathi with dialects ..	35,841	33,165	+ 8.1	15	16	17	City and South Gujarat
Kachchhi	17,679	11,439	+ 54.5	7	5	8	Kathiawad
Lahnda and Sindhi ..	952	661	+ 44.0	..	..	..	Central and North Gujarat
Other Languages	3,166	1,238	+155.7	1	1	1	
Total Population ..	**2,443,007**	**2,126,522**	+ 14.9	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	

338. Subsidiary Table I considered—It must be understood that the strength shown against each language in the above table represents the number of speakers who have returned that language as their mother tongue. The question of their use as subsidiary languages will be presently considered. Gujarati as mother tongue has increased by 13.5 per cent and Bhil dialects have increased by 23.6 per cent; while the general increase in population is only 14.9 per cent and that amongst primitive tribes is 20.7 per cent. The increase in the Bhil dialects is proportionately larger than the growth of the tribes that speak them proving that many speakers who were shown as speaking Gujarati in 1921 are (more correctly) shown under their own native vernacular, as there is now room for showing Gujarati, where necessary, as the subsidiary language. This explains the slower rate of increase amongst Gujarati speakers. Similar reasons explain the large increase under Kachchhi. The increase in Rajasthani is wholly due to immigration. As the birthplace returns show, immigrants from Rajputana Agency, Ajmer Marwara and Idar State now number 12,254 against only 9,031 in 1921. Western Hindi shows a larger increase than the average recorded in the general population, and this is probably due in part to immigration. Immigrants from the United Provinces have nearly doubled their strength within the last ten years. But Western Hindi has also gained at the expense of Gujarati, as will be shown later through Muslim predilections in favour of Urdu. These causes have combined to reduce slightly the proportionate strength of Gujarati among the population. It still remains by far the most dominant tongue in the State. It is the language of the administration and, through the network of schools and the encouragement given by the State to the production of books in it, has firmly established itself as the ordinary language of intercourse and civilisation. Marathi has not grown so much as the other languages, partly because some of the typical Deccani castes that speak it have actually declined in numbers. In the last column of the Table, an indication is given of the area or areas where the speakers of each language are to be most found. Of the speakers of the Bhil dialects, the bulk, *i.e.*, nearly 82 per cent are in South Gujarat and the remainder in Central Gujarat. The speakers of Western Hindi are distributed in almost equal strength in Baroda and Mehsana *prants*. In the City alone, their number is almost as large as in Mehsana *prant*. It remains to add in this connection that out of the total population, no less than 2,442,610 or 999.8 per mille speak some

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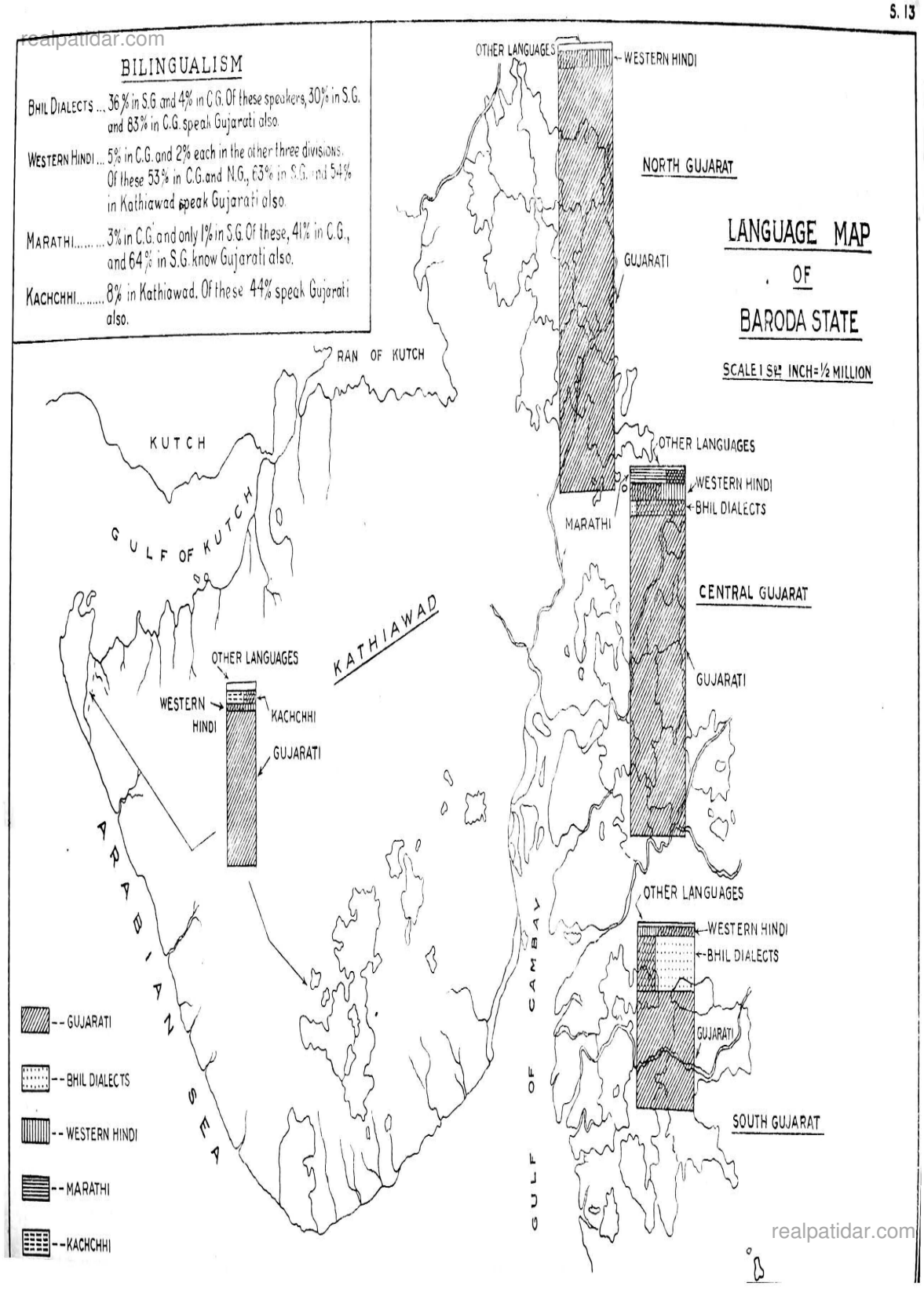

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language of India. Only 397 persons speak dialects or languages that are not Indian. The six European languages returned are spoken by 250 persons.

339. Local Distribution of Languages—Distributing the languages by natural division, we find the greatest prevalence of Gujarati in North Gujarat where 97 per cent speak it, and the lowest proportion of Gujarati speakers in South Gujarat with only 60 per cent. Bhil dialects claim 37 per cent in South Gujarat and only 4 per cent in Central Gujarat. They hardly occur elsewhere. Western Hindi is most prevalent in Central Gujarat, particularly in the City. Kachchhi is almost entirely localised in Kathiawad, where 8 per cent speak it. Marathi (with 3 per cent) is mostly concentrated in the City. Hardly one in a hundred speaks it in South Gujarat and Kathiawad. The City shows the greatest linguistic variety; Gujarati is less in evidence there than in any other administrative unit, forming only 57 per cent. Of the other languages, Marathi is the most important there with 23 per cent of the City's population speaking it. Western Hindi (Hindustani) comes next with 17.5 per cent. The following Table gives the proportionate distribution of languages in each natural division reckoned on 10,000 of the population :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

Distribution by Language of the Population in each Division

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 who speak as Mother Tongue					
	Gujarati	Bhil dialects	Marathi	Western Hindi	Kachchhi	Other Languages
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Baroda State	**8,676**	**738**	**146**	**320**	**72**	**48**
Central Gujarat including City	8,654	397	344	519	9	77
City	5,656	46	2,260	1,767	22	249
North Gujarat	9,713	0.1	19	226	5	36.9
South Gujarat	6,013	3,651	94	211	8	23
Kathiawad	8,910	2	73	198	787	30

340. Bilingualism : General Results—The general results regarding the return of subsidiary languages will now be set out. Bilingualism is very little evident with Gujarati as mother tongue. Of 10,000 speakers of Gujarati, 9,939 do not profess to use any subsidiary language, 51 profess to know Hindustani, only 6 know Marathi and 4 Kachchhi. But amongst speakers of the Bhil group, 40 per cent speak Gujarati also. Amongst Marathi speakers, 46 per cent claim mastery over Gujarati. Speakers of Bhili and Marathi show varying degrees of proficiency in Gujarati in the different divisions : for instance, while only 30 per cent of Bhili speakers in South Gujarat know Gujarati, as many as 83 per cent or more than four-fifths of such speakers combine Gujarati as well in Central Gujarat. 64 per cent of Marathi speakers in South Gujarat and only 41 per cent in Central Gujarat know Gujarati. As to Western Hindi, while 54 per cent generally of speakers of this language know Gujarati, this ratio rises to 63 per cent in South Gujarat and falls to 53 in Central and North Gujarat. Kachchhi speakers in Kathiawad show only 44 per cent of bilingualism. The accompanying map shows by suitable rectangles the linguistic distribution and the proportion of bilingualism in each division. Subsidiary Table VIII printed at the end of the chapter gives the detailed proportions with regard to the five principal languages, combined with one another, to which reference may be made. A summary table is given below. The five principal languages selected are Gujarati, Marathi, Bhil dialects, Western Hindi and Kachchhi. The speakers of each language (as mother tongue) are proportioned to the total population (*i.e.*, for columns 2, 4, 6 and 8) while those

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that combine their mother tongue with a subsidiary tongue are proportioned to the total speakers under each language. The ratios are calculated on a percentage basis :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

PROPORTION OF SPEAKERS UNDER EACH LANGUAGE, WHO COMBINE A SUBSIDIARY

NATURAL DIVISION	GUJARATI		MARATHI		BHIL DIALECTS		WESTERN HINDI		KACHCHHI	
	Number who speak it as mother tongue per cent of total population	Proportion of Gujarati speakers who combine with Western Hindi	Number who speak it as mother tongue per cent of total population	Proportion of Marathi speakers who combine with Gujarati	Number who speak them as vernacular per cent of total population	Proportion of speakers of these, who combine with Gujarati	Number who speak it as mother tongue per cent of total population	Proportion of Western Hindi speakers who combine with Gujarati	Number who speak it as mother tongue per cent of total population	Proportion of Kachchhi speakers who combine with Gujarati
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Baroda State ..	**87**	**0.5**	**1**	**46**	**7**	**40**	**3**	**53**	**7**	**46**
Central Gujarat .	87	0.6	3	41	4	83	5	51	1	68
Kathiawad ..	89	0.3	0.7	47	..	..	2	54	79	44
North Gujarat ..	97	0.4	0.2	76	..	..	2	53	0.5	47
South Gujarat ..	60	1	1	64	37	30	2	63	1	61

NOTE :—The subsidiary language selected for each mother tongue is the principal one with which it has been found most in combination.

341. Are the Bhil dialects being displaced—The question of the influence of Aryan tongues on the primitive tribes of this country is always of interest. But it is becoming more and more difficult to find out how far the dialects of these tribes are giving way under the influence of schools and Hindu teachers to Gujarati. The case of these tribes in Baroda, however, stands on a different footing from other cognate non-Aryan tribes such as we meet with in Assam or Chhota Nagpur. As regards these latter, it is a question of non-Aryan dialects giving way before the advance of Aryan civilisation. Here in this State, the process represents a much later stage. We do not know what dialects these tribes spoke before the advent of Hindu civilisation. What we do see now is the presence of dialects which are in themselves Aryan in form and even in the bulk of their vocabulary. But these Bhil dialects are a corrupt form of the neighbouring Aryan language influencing them, *e.g.*, Marathi in Khandesh and West and South Songadh, and Gujarati in remaining areas. As in the case of other lower class Hindus, the spread of education tends to approximate their speech to the standard dialect of the upper class, so also will these dialects in time be absorbed by Gujarati and the question how long they will take to do so will depend very much on the progress of education amongst these tribes. In previous censuses, the results as then tabulated gave rise to the belief that Gujarati was fast supplanting these dialects. The number of the primitive tribes returning Gujarati as their mother tongue was estimated at 100,379 in 1911, 112,591 in 1921 and 130,894 in 1931. In 1911, the proportion of tribes speaking Gujarati was 40.6 per cent. In 1921, this rose to 43.6. In the latest census year, the percentage has fallen to 42 which would make it appear that in spite of a genuine Hinduising movement amongst them, the hold of their languages still continues at least as strong on them as before. One other minor reason for the decline in the proportion of Gujarati amongst Bhil tribes is as we have seen in the previous chapter, the falling off in literacy in the age-periods 10-20 amongst the Tribal. But the spread of Gujarati amongst them can be seen from Imperial Table XV—Part B which shows the extent to which languages are combined as principal and subsidiary in the State. In that Table, we find that in addition to those of the tribes who have returned Gujarati as their home language, 71,819 speakers of Bhil dialects (38,552 males and 33,267 females) have claimed Gujarati also as a subsidiary language. It must be observed here that the speakers of Gujarati from amongst primitive tribes can only be estimated, as the language returns are not compiled directly by tribes or races. It is assumed that all speakers of Bhil dialects belong to one or other of these tribes, and the total of speakers of Gujarati amongst them is obtained by deducting the speakers of these dialects and the estimated number of Bhil speakers of Marathi from the total strength of these tribes. There is very little error involved in this method of calculation, as very few of these tribes speak any other tongue of civilisation than Gujarati or Marathi. A proportion of the Bavchas and a few Vasawas and Bhils on the border of Khandesh district

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have been absorbed by Marathi, but it is remarkable how some of these tribes—even so completely Hinduised as Chodhras or Bavchas—have clung tenaciously to their dialects. The following Table gives the comparative figures from the Tribe and Language returns which are instructive. Side by side along with the total strength of each tribe, the number professing Hinduism is also indicated to show how far religion has helped Gujarati in establishing itself among these people :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Comparison of Tribe and Language Tables

Name of Tribe	Name of corresponding tribal dialect	Strength of Tribe			Number professing Hinduism	Number speaking Tribal Dialect			Number speaking other languages
		Total	Males	Females		Total	Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bavcha	Bavchi	1,186	573	613	1,186	558	286	272	628
Bhil	Bhili	54,542	27,789	26,753	53,235	32,827	16,187	16,640	21,715
Chodhra	Chodhri	38,786	19,952	18,834	29,736	37,746	19,319	18,427	1,040
Dhodia	Dhodia	26,132	13,268	12,864	25,414	22,210	11,246	10,964	3,922
Gamit	Gamtadi ..	59,213	30,239	28,974	33,210	59,209	30,179	29,030	4
Kathodia ..	Kathodi	551	279	272	333	428	216	212	123
Kokna	Kokni	7,952	4,137	3,815	6,449	7,030	4,134	3,796	22
Kolgha	Kolghi	991	472	519	798	820	411	409	171
Kotwalia	Kotwali	2,207	1,140	1,067	1,156	2,065	1,091	974	142
Mavchi	Mavchi	919	510	409	905	924	503	421	..
Nayakda ..	Nayakdi	11,802	6,053	5,749	11,662	4,130	2,011	2,119	7,672
Valvi	Valvi	132	74	58	101	29	12	17	103
Varli	Varli	368	203	165	187	483	262	221	..
Vasawa	Vasawi	17,527	8,886	8,641	13,290	11,025	5,570	5,455	6,502

342. Consideration of Subsidiary Table IV—The first point that strikes at once as one studies the above table is that the list does not contain certain tribal names for the reason that these do not possess any tribal dialects at all. Nearly thirty per cent of the total tribal strength do not have any dialect of their own. These tribes are set out in the inset Table, and as it will appear from it, they are the most completely *Hinduised* sections of the Raniparaj, (to use the term now applied to them). They live amongst the upper class Hindus and Parsis and are powerfully influenced by their contact. Next in point of *Hinduisation* are Bavchas, Chodhras, Bhils, Nayakdas, Dhodias, Vasawas, and Koknas. In the margin a table is given comparing the proportion of Hindus amongst each of these tribes with that of persons who have forsaken their tribal dialect. The figures of Hindus are taken from Imperial Table XVIII and are accepted as correct. In the Chapter on Religion the figures of Hindus in this census have been accepted as reliable. If any thing, they rather *underrate* the extent of Hinduisation amongst the Raniparaj. The tribes are arranged according to their order of Hinduisation. But the proportions of those who have forsaken the tribal dialect do not by any means correspond. Only Nayakdas and to a smaller extent Bavchas and Bhils show that Hinduism does have an effect on their language. The Dhodia figures as to language, as noted in the next paragraph are open to doubt. Their correctness will be discussed there. But in the meanwhile even if we make allowance for the fact that at least 6,000 Dhodias who should have been entered under Gujarati are wrongly included under their tribal

Name of Tribe	Strength in 1931	No. of Hindus
Dhanka	3,457	3,457
Dubla	12,894	12,811
Tadvi	20,817	20,817
Talavia	52,565	52,407
Total	**89,733**	**89,492**

Name of Tribe	Per cent forsaking tribal dialect	Per cent following Hinduism
Bavchas	53	100
Bhil	40	98
Dhodia	15	97
Nayakda	65	90
Chodhra	3	77
Kokna	0.3	81
Vasawa	17	76

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dialect, the proportion of Gujarati speakers amongst these is only raised from 15 to 38. Thus Hinduism is not such a potent factor in this respect with the bulk of Raniparaj as one would imagine. We find on the other hand the true explanation seems to be this: Hinduism does help, but only where it is reinforced by other circumstances such as status and economic dependence. Dublas and Talavias are generally in the position of great economic dependence—almost reduced to the status of serfs—on their Hindu and Parsi neighbours. Amongst these tribes Gujarati operates with success in weaning away these people from their parent tongues. The same may be said of Nayakdas and Tadvis. Koknas retain their dialect because of their almost entire want of education. On the other hand, the socially conscious sections like the Chodhras, Gamits, Vasawas and Dhodias have in spite of their Hinduism continued their hold on their dialects. Particularly the Chodhras are keenest on retaining their individuality in this respect. Lastly before this table is dismissed from consideration, the discrepancy about Mavchi and Varli has to be mentioned: the speakers of these dialects as returned by the Census are actually found to be larger than the number of Mavchis and Varlis. Obviously there is a mistake somewhere. Some Bavchi figures may have been wrongly returned under Mavchi and Varli may have been similarly confused with Valvi.

343. Variation in Bhil dialects—We will now consider the variations in the last three censuses in the five principal dialects. The margin gives the absolute figures for the last three census years. Vasawi is closely related to the Rani Bhili of Songadh and other forest areas in Navsari *prant*. It was not separately compiled in 1911. In 1921, the figures were separately sorted and shown in the Caste and Language Subsidiary Table (p. 298 of 1921 Report) Dubli has disappeared and the language of Dublas in the Rasti parts of Navsari is undistinguishable from the Gujarati of Koli and such like classes. Gamtadi is closely allied to Chodhri, differing from it however in a few characteristics, namely that the hardening of soft aspirates does not seem to recur and that *l* is not regularly changed to *n*. Dhodia is influenced by the neighbouring Marathi, although its case-suffixes are generally the same as in Gujarati. The relation of Mavchi with Bavchi will form the subject of a separate appendix. In the meantime it will be sufficient to suggest that the figures above given do not indicate any "wild inaccuracy" in the results, such as the late Mr. Sedgwick complained about in the last Bombay Report. He said that "our census figures were a matter of the wildest chance." On the contrary the Baroda Census figures are fairly accurate and dependable. The variations do not show any abnormal jumps and correspond closely enough to the increases recorded from census to census in the strength of each of these tribes. On the whole therefore the strength of these dialects as given above may be taken as fairly correct with the exception of Dhodia. The Dhodia dialect shows an increase of 16.5 per cent, while the Dhodia tribe has grown by 22.4 in the last ten years. But the dialect figures should not show any increase at all. The stronghold of the Dhodias is in Mahuva taluka, which was also the storm-centre of the *Mata* movement, which meant not only the displacement of aboriginal deities but also the supplanting of their dialect by Gujarati which established itself through *bhajans*, religious services and constant propaganda. It is estimated by a careful local authority that a third of the Mahuva Dhodias (who number 18,000) have given up their dialect for Gujarati which means that the above total of 22,210 shown against Dhodia should be reduced by about 6,000. This estimate I am prepared to accept as Dhodias are the most advanced educationally of these tribes. Large numbers have emigrated to Gandevi, Kamrej and Navsari where they only speak Gujarati. Thus the final estimate of the Gujarati speaking Raniparaj comes to 137,000, or nearly 44 per cent.

Dialect	1931	1921	1911
Bhili	32,827	26,228	35,111
Chodhri	37,746	30,656	26,852
Dhodia	22,210	19,051	18,051
Gamtadi	59,209	51,587	47,177
Vasawi	11,025	5,358	Included under Bhili

344. Languages spoken by Muslims—We will now see how far the new arrangements in the census schedule have affected the language returns for Musalmans. By a special compilation the marginal table has been prepared. A similar table less detailed was prepared in 1921 also, and comparative figures are given side by side. It will be seen therefrom that Muslim speakers of some

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form of Western Hindi (Hindustani, Urdu or "Musalmani") have increased since 1921 by 21.2 per cent; the Kachchhi speakers have increased by nearly 51 per cent, and Muslims acknowledging Gujarati as their mother tongue have increased by hardly 4 per cent. The general Muslim increase being 12.5 per cent, the true figure for 1931 (assuming that the 1921 return was correct) should have been 113,500 for Gujarati, 62,550 for Western Hindi and 7,763 for Kachchhi. But Kachchhi figures for 1921 are open to suspicion that many speakers of it (Hindu and Mahomedan) were returned under Gujarati. In 1931, with a separate column for subsidiary languages, a truer return for Kachchhi has been obtained. In 1911, the number of Kachchhi speakers was 15,268. In 1921, the figures fell by 25 per cent to 11,439, and the decline was explained by "progressive Gujaraticisation" of Luhanas and Bhatias, but the figures for 1931 do not bear this out. Memons and Khojas together number 11,138. The bulk of these especially those residing in Amreli and Okha *prants*, speak Kachchhi and the number of Muslim speakers returning Kachchhi, which is 10,413, may be therefore accepted as correct. Our above estimate of 7,762 in respect of Kachchhi falls short of the truth by 2,650; and the above estimate of Gujarati (113,500) should be diminished by 2,650 to arrive at the truth. The margin gives the corrected figures for Muslims in the three languages as compared with the census return. As to the figure of 62,550 (being the estimated number of Muslim speakers of Western Hindi), it is to be remembered that only the Musalmans with foreign strain and such other sections amongst the converts who have long been assimilated with these elements speak Hindustani in their homes. The Afghans, Balochis, Makranis and Arabs after a time adopt Hindustani and only a small proportion of these retain acquaintance with their original vernaculars. The foreign strain element was estimated to number 56,993 in 1921 (*vide* paras 381-2 of the 1921 Report). These elements now number 60,391; there are besides local converts assimilated to them, so that, taking both together, the above estimate of 62,550 is nearer the truth than the census figure; so nearly 5,000 Musalmans have been wrongly entered under Hindustani while their proper language is Gujarati. The *Muslimising* tendency is active enough, but it cannot be said to have succeeded in obliterating Gujarati from its place in the average Muslim home in the State as its natural and normal vernacular. The non-Hindustani speaking foreign elements amongst Muslims number nearly two thousand, of whom less than a third speak their mother tongue.

Language	Number of Muslim speakers	
	1931	1921
Gujarati	102,638	98,709
Bhil dialects	6	..
Western Hindi	67,383	55,588
Kachchhi	10,413	6,900
Marathi	100	80
Rajasthani	277	143
Bengali	95	
Burmese	12	
Punjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi, etc.	1,079	
Dravidian languages	28	
Gypsy	6	
Kashmiri	3	948
Naipali	1	
European languages	17	
Arabic	64	
Balochi, Pashto and Persian	495	
Turkish	6	
African languages	7	

Corrected estimate of Muslim speakers in		Census Figures	Variation
Gujarati	110,850	102,638	8,212
Western Hindi	62,550	67,383	4,833
Kachchhi	10,413	10,413	..

§ 2. Correlation of Language and Caste Returns

345. Caste and Language Tables Correlated—A fairly effective measure with which to gauge the accuracy of the language returns is to correlate them with the Caste Table. Under each language, the census figure can be compared and tested with the estimate of speakers from castes and tribes that are known or expected to speak it. The following Table has been prepared on the basis of actual facts. Of course certain assumptions have to be provisionally made, as for instance all forest tribes are assumed to speak their own dialects, all Cutchi Memons and Khojas and all Kathiawadi Kharwas, Bhatias and Luhanas are taken to speak Kachchhi, and all known Deccani groups are believed to be Marathi speaking. Similarly all non-Muslim speaking Rajasthani are assumed to be Hindus. Such of the Bavchas, Koknas and Varlis as do not speak the tribal dialects are assumed to speak Marathi.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Language Returns correlated with the Caste figures

Language	Actual number returned in Census as speaking the language	Castes, Tribes, and Races supposed to speak the language	Total of estimated speakers	Excess of Census figures over estimated	Excess of estimated figures over the Census
1	2	3	4	5	6
Gujarati	2,119,551	A–Brahmanic Hindus (2,149,200) —Less (*i*) Deccani Hindu Castes (34,942), (*ii*) Raniparaj Hindus (267,161), (*iii*) Hindus speaking Western Hindi estimated (10,600), (*iv*) Hindu speakers of Rajasthani (6,969), (*v*) Castes speaking Kachchhi (9,907); B–Indian Christian less Goans and Feringhis (7,064–196=6,868); *C—Parsis* (7,127); *D—Gujarati speaking Musalmans —corrected figure as above* (110,850); *E—Jains* (48,408)	1,992,874	126,677	..
Marathi with dialects ..	35,841	Deccani castes as above estimated (34,942); Goans and Feringhis (196); Such of Bavchas, Koknas and Varlis as speak Marathi (773)	35,911	..	70
Western Hindi ..	78,188	Hindustani speaking Hindus (10,600), Muslims with foreign strain and other allied Muslims (62,550)	73,150	5,038	..
Bhil dialects	180,384	Forest Tribes (312,051) (Hindu 267,161, Tribal 44,890) less Marathi speakers (773)	311,278	..	130,894
Kachchhi	17,679	Khoja and Memon residing in Kathiawad (7,766), Bhadela (1,908); Okha Bharwad, Sathwara and Luhana and Kathiawadi Kharwa, Bhatia and Khatri (7,208)	16,882	797	..
Sindhi	934	Sindhi (4,160)	4,160	..	3,226
Pashto, Balochi, Persian, Arabic	621	Baloch, (1,011), Makranis (639), Afghan (15), Arab (274)	1,939	..	1,318
English	201	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	198	3	..
Remaining languages ..	9,608	Remaining population	6,615	2,993	..
Total Population	**2,443,007**	**Total Speakers**	**2,443,007**	**135,508**	**135,508**

346. Consideration of Subsidiary Table V—The above table is as pointed out already based on assumptions some of which are no longer true. Thus it is no longer true that forest tribes stick to their dialects. Nearly 44 per cent of these tribes now have given up their tongue for Gujarati. Subsidiary Table V can only therefore be accepted as provisional. We shall take each principal language in turn and see how far the estimate falls short of the truth and how far the census return can be accepted as correct.

(*a*) **Gujarati**—Taking Gujarati, we must at the outset increase the estimate for Gujarati by the number of those of the Raniparaj (forest tribes) who speak it as their home tongue. Our final estimate of these is 137,000. Our estimate of Gujarati speakers is therefore raised to 2,129,874 or 2.13 millions in round numbers. To these Musalmans contribute 110,850. In the Census Report of 1921, an elaborate estimate was made of Muslim castes that usually speak Gujarati. Some are wholly Gujarati speaking, others are in part so. In the margin are collected certain chief castes and races amongst the Muslims who speak Gujarati and the extent to which that language prevails is also indicated. Shaikhs and Pathans, though properly foreign elements, are apt to have their strength diluted by *parvenu* accretions from Neo-Muslims. That is why a certain proportion of these elements amongst Pathans and Shaikhs has still retained Gujarati.

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Again long domicile in Gujarat has resulted in imposing Gujarati even on those who are of purer extraction. Maleks who among indigenous Musalmans are the most assimilated to the foreign elements are divided about Gujarati—those in North Gujarat speak it, while in South Gujarat they prefer Urdu, and in other places the two languages have an equal strength. Certain other Muslim sections like Behlims, Kasais, Poladis, etc., have always spoken Hindustani; while the trading communities like Vohra, Memon and Khoja have always preferred Gujarati or Kachchhi. Pinjaras and Tais have similarly preferred Gujarati; so also have typically agriculturist communities who have come in contact with the Patidar, like the Momna, Molesalam and Vohra (peasant section). The influence of education has however developed a communal sense, quickening the religious needs of all sections of Gujarat Muslims and they have taken to learning Urdu of a fashion, particularly because it is the storehouse of their religious literature and partly also because it is good form to learn it.

Name of Caste	Percentage of those understood to speak		
	Western Hindi	Gujarati	Kachchhi
Shaikh	70	30	..
Pathan	70	30	..
Malek	45	55	..
Memon	..	64	36
Vohra	2	98	..
Pinjara	..	100	..
Momna	..	100	..
Molesalam	..	100	..
Khoja	..	9	91
Ghanchi	..	100	..

(*b*) *Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi*—Turning to other languages, we find that the estimate regarding Western Hindi falls short of the census total by over 5,000. We have estimated already while dealing with the figures of language amongst the Muslims, that nearly 5,000 Muslim speakers of Gujarati were wrongly (and perhaps wilfully) entered under Hindustani. Even after this deduction, the estimate as given in the Table has to be further reduced owing to the following consideration. Eastern Hindi has only 3 representatives and Bihari none, although immigrants from the eastern districts of the United Provinces and the Bihar districts number no less than 2,689, showing that many true speakers of Bihari and Awadhi were wrongly returned under Hindustani. It was made clear in the instructions that Hindustani was a dialect of Western Hindi, and that Awadhi was the representative dialect of Eastern Hindi. The terms "Western" and "Eastern Hindi" were purposely avoided, as they conveyed very little meaning to the average enumerator and emphasis was laid on Hindustani and Awadhi as representing their respective groups. Māgahi was the representative dialect of Bihar. The estimate of Western Hindi should be therefore reduced by at least 1,500.

(*c*) *Kachchhi and Sindhi*—The Kachchhi estimate is about 800 less than the census figure, but the census total is right, as the estimate does not include many Sindhis of Okha, who speak Kachchhi. Under Sindhi, there is a comparatively large discrepancy but this is explained by the fact that about a quarter speak Kachchhi and the bulk of those that do not speak either Sindhi or Kachchhi have been returned under Hindustani. Sindhi Musalmans, except in Okha, generally take to Hindustani, after some stay in Gujarat.

(*d*) *Marathi*—In this case, the estimate almost exactly tallies with the census total. The slight excess is due to the fact that Goans of good families returned Portuguese as their language. For preparing their estimate the following Deccani castes and tribes were selected—

Bhandari
Brahman :—
Deshastha
Gaud Saraswat (Shenvi)
Karhada
Konkanstha
Devrukha
Yajurvedi
Dhimar
Dhangar
Ghadsi
Gurav
Holar
Kasar
Kokni Kunbi
Komti
Mahar
Maratha Kshatriya and Kunbi
Prabhu
Shimpi
Sonar
Vidur

(*e*) *Other Languages*—The figures of English alone of the remaining languages have been correlated with the race returns. But some of the other languages may be briefly dealt with. Speakers of Bengali numbered 193 of whom 95 were Muslims. Immigrants from Bengal number 393, but as these include 133 with Calcutta as birthplace, it is probable that the figure of Bengali speakers is right. English speakers include three Indians (two Muslim females). The Dutch speakers were all Muslims being immigrants from South Africa.

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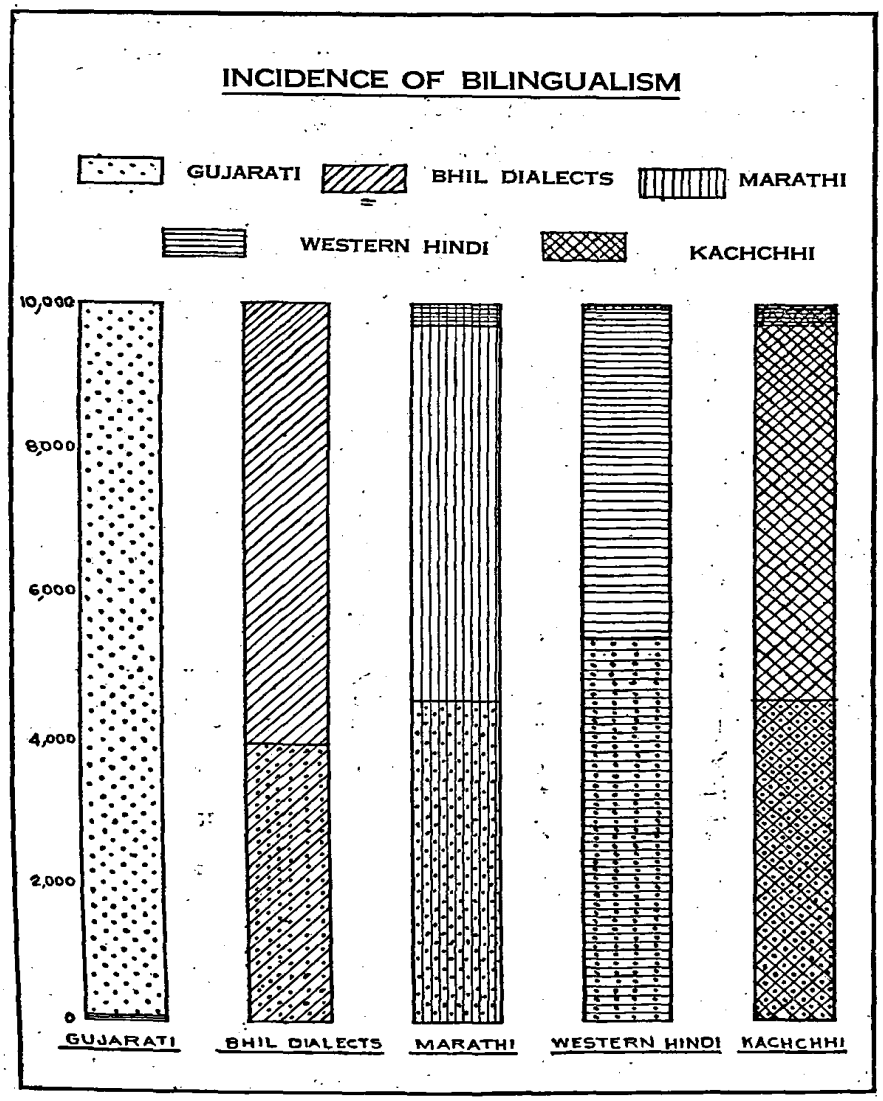
Language	Corrected estimate	Census return
Gujarati	2,129,900	2,119,551
Western Hindi ..	71,650	78,188
Marathi	35,841	35,841
Bhil dialects	175,000	180,384
Kachchhi	17,679	17,679
Eastern Hindi and Bihari	1,500	3
Remaining Languages	11,437	11,361
Total	**2,443,007**	**2,443,007**

(*f*) *Finally adjusted figures*—We now arrive at the corrected return of the principal languages. These figures are compared with the census return and shown in the margin. The largest adjustments are required as will be seen in Western and Eastern Hindi, the distinction between which, in spite of injunctions solemnly conveyed by the Linguistic Survey, is lightly ignored by the census authorities in the United Provinces and Bihar. But this distinction has to be insisted on to get at the true prevalence of Hindustani the figures of which are unduly inflated in the census returns.

§ 3. Prevalence of Bilingualism

347. Bilingualism—The question of bilingualism has been already touched upon in para 340 above and also while discussing the languages returned by the Forest Tribes. In the Census Schedule, all sorts of claims were allowed to be made but while compiling for Imperial Table XV—Parts B and C—only five languages.



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Gujarati, the Bhil dialects, Western Hindi (Hindustani), Kachchhi (a dialect of Sindhi, which for its local importance was tabulated separately) and Marathi,—were taken into account, and as they together are spoken by 99.5 per cent of the State, these combinations present as adequate a view of bilingualism as can be wished for. It is necessary to point out however that while Bhil dialects were shown as the vernacular of 180,384 persons, not a single instance was found of these dialects being returned as subsidiary. But this is not the case. There are not infrequent instances of Gujarati speakers—timber contractors, teachers, mission workers and the like—who use the Bhil tongues in the course of their business in the forest tracts but perhaps they thought it beneath their dignity to disclose this fact. What is more curious still that not one of the 131,000* of these tribes who have returned Gujarati as their home tongue has cared to state any of these dialects as their subsidiary medium. With this exception, these other four languages were found in combination as subsidiary, as the following Table will show. A diagram to illustrate the main combinations is also given to facilitate the study of figures :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Incidence of Bilingualism

Group of Languages	Persons	Males	Females	Incidence of bilingualism per 10,000 speakers of each mother tongue	Number of female subsidiary speakers per 1,000 male
1	2	3	4	5	6
A—Gujarati as mother tongue with following as subsidiary	*2,119,551*	*1,088,238*	*1,031,313*	*10,000*	....
i. Marathi	1,169	893	276	5.5	391
ii. Western Hindi	10,758	7,916	2,842	51	351
iii. Kachchhi	911	496	415	4	837
Total Subsidiary	**12,838**	**9,305**	**3,533**	**60·5**	**380**
B—Bhil dialects as mother tongue with following as subsidiary	*180,384*	*91,427*	*88,957*	*10,000*	....
i. Gujarati	71,819	38,552	33,267	3,981	863
ii. Marathi	88	56	32	5	571
iii. Western Hindi	3	2	1	....	500
Total Subsidiary	**71,910**	**38,610**	**33,300**	**3,986**	**862**
C—Marathi as mother tongue with following as subsidiary	*35,532*	*19,086*	*16,446*	*10,000*	....
i. Gujarati	16,139	9,867	6,272	4,565	636
ii. Western Hindi	920	654	266	260	407
iii. Kachchhi	3	2	1	1	500
Total Subsidiary	**17,062**	**10,523**	**6,539**	**4,826**	**621**
D—Western Hindi as mother tongue with following as subsidiary	*78,188*	*42,684*	*35,504*	*10,000*	....
i. Gujarati	41,751	23,999	17,752	5,340	740
ii. Marathi	217	152	65	28	428
iii. Kachchhi	60	3	57	8	19,000
Total Subsidiary	**42,028**	**24,154**	**17,874**	**5,376**	**740**
E—Kachchhi as mother tongue with following as subsidiary	*17,679*	*8,907*	*8,772*	*10,000*	....
i. Gujarati	8,052	4,417	3,635	4,555	823
ii. Marathi	3	2	1	2	500
iii. Western Hindi	463	313	150	262	479
Total Subsidiary	**8,518**	**4,732**	**3,786**	**4,819**	**800**

* Nearly 90,000 of these however have no dialects of their own, it must be remembered, *e.g.* Dublas, Talavias and Tadvis.

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348. Basis of Subsidiary Table VI—The reader will notice that the total of subsidiary speakers given under each mother tongue in columns 2, 3, and 4 of the above Table differs by 1,235 from the totals given in corresponding columns of Imperial Table XV-B. That Table was prepared on the following basis :— Where a person returned only one subsidiary language there was of course no difficulty. But where a person returned more than one subsidiary language, it happened that a language was returned by some as a first choice, and by other as a second subsidiary. Some Gujarati speakers may have for instance returned Marathi as their first choice and Western Hindi as their second. These cases of Western Hindi as second choice were added in the Imperial Table to the figures of that language returned as first choice, in order to show the total incidence of that language. This was done with other languages also. These cases of tri-or-polylingualism have however been omitted from the above subsidiary table as otherwise the true incidence of bilingualism cannot be found. Again, figures of second subsidiaries are no test whether such secondary preferences are really an indication of the true extent of the vogue of these languages. Besides Subsidiary Table VIII on which the above is based is prepared on the basis of 10,000 speakers of a mother tongue, to which figure, the numbers of those who speak it only and no other language, and of those others who combine it with each of the subsidiaries are to be separately proportioned. This cannot be done if the reduplicated figures are not omitted. The total number of polylinguists in the State, *out of those that speak these five principal languages*, is 1,235 (900 males and 335 females). A small table is given below in which the polylinguists' second preferences in respect of subsidiary languages are compiled per mother tongue. A revised Table showing only first preferences per administrative division is prepared and subjoined at the end of this chapter as Subsidiary Table IX :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI-A

FIGURES OF SECOND PREFERENCES

MOTHER TONGUE	PERSONS RETURNING FOLLOWING AS SECOND SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGES							
	Gujarati		Marathi		Western Hindi		Kachchhi	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Gujarati	..	..	79	7	80	11	9	1
Marathi	92	3	..	..	127	33	..	..
Western Hindi	452	229	48	..	..	..	2	..
Kachchhi	5	6	6	..	..	45	..	..

In the above Table, the figures given are in *addition* to the numbers shown in Subsidiary Table VI. With Gujarati speakers, Hindustani and Marathi appear to supplement each other as second preferences, just as with Hindustani speakers, Gujarati and Marathi alternate in this respect. With Kachchhi as mother tongue, Hindustani and Gujarati are the rival subsidiaries that vie for the first place. Kachchhi as a second preference is hardly returned at all. These second preferences are mostly confined to the City of Baroda whose cosmopolitan population favours such polyglot combinations.

349. Consideration of Subsidiary Table VI—As might be expected, the Gujaratis living in their own home do not need to use any other language but their own. They show, therefore, the lowest incidence of bilingualism. Only one in about 165 Gujarati speakers owns to using other languages as subsidiary. But in all other languages, the proportion of bilingualism is at least as high as 40 per cent: the greatest incidence occurring in Western Hindi (54 per cent), then Marathi (48.3 per cent) followed by Kachchhi (48.2 per cent) and the Bhil group (39.9 per cent). Gujarati seems to be the hottest favourite amongst subsidiary languages—forming 39.8 per cent of Bhili speakers, 45.6 with Marathi speakers ; 53 per cent with Hindustani speakers and 45.6 per cent with Kachchhi as mother tongue.

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Western Hindi (Hindustani) forms a bad second, being only 5 per mille with Gujaratis, 26 per mille with Deccanis (speakers of Marathi) and 26 per mille with Kachchhi speakers. It is hardly known amongst the Raniparaj. The sex ratios are also instructive. In their own home, the women of Gujarat hardly need to know any other language,—as only one woman out of about 300 claims bilingualism; but amongst people speaking Bhil dialects or Kachchhi, there are nearly as many women as men, who claim knowledge of other languages; as regards Western Hindi and Marathi, the sex proportion is nearly 7 to 10, as the social needs make it inevitable that immigrants of both sexes speaking these languages should have a familiarity with Gujarati, the language of the State. Over half of the speakers of Western Hindi (of either sex) know Gujarati. More than half of the men, and well over a third of the women, speaking Marathi, boast of Gujarati as their subsidiary.

350. Area of Bilingualism—The following Table has been also prepared from Imperial Table XV—Part B. It shows the particular division where bilingualism in each group of languages is most evident. The proportions are calculated per 1,000 speakers of subsidiary languages under each mother tongue :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

AREA OF BILINGUALISM

GROUP OF LANGUAGES	AREA OF BILINGUALISM					
	State	City	Baroda	Kathiawad	Mehsana	Navsari
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A. Gujarati with other subsidiaries ..	1,000	211	194	118	304	173
B. Bhil group with other subsidiaries ..	1,000	4	374	..	..	622
C. Marathi with other subsidiaries ..	1,000	632	92	45	86	145
D. Hindustani with other subsidiaries ..	1,000	155	373	53	289	130
E. Kachchhi with other subsidiaries ..	1,000	22	44	875	33	26

351. Consideration of Subsidiary Table VII—The above variations are largely conditioned by the prevalence of the main language which forms each group. Where the mother tongue has the widest prevalence, it shows the largest proportion of bilingualism. Thus, the Bill group is confined to South Gujarat (Semi-Rasti and Rani areas) and to Central Gujarat (parts of Kahnam and Chorashi). Kachchhi is mostly to be found in Kathiawad. That is why bilingualism in regard to these languages is almost entirely confined to these areas. Similarly as 72 per cent of Marathi speakers are concentrated in the City, the largest incidence of bilingualism in respect of that language occurs there. Gujarati is the most predominant in North Gujarat, where also, we find the extent of its combination with other languages to be relatively the largest. In regard to Hindustani however, other considerations have to be taken into account. The margin compares the distribution of Hindustani with the extent of bilingualism in respect of that language in the different divisions. In the City it is widely prevalent having 26 per cent of the total number of speakers. But the bilingual ratio is small, showing that in the City there is not the same need of using Gujarati for Hindustani speakers as in rural areas where Muslims and Hindus live side by side and come into greater intercourse with one another. Another reason for the lowness of the ratio of bilingualism in respect of Hindustani is that amongst educated sections, English takes the place of other languages as a subsidiary medium. Possibly a third reason may be found in propaganda. The vocal sections amongst the City Muslims rather worked in the direction of not acknowledging that Gujarati had an influence, even as a subsidiary, in their homes.

HINDUSTANI		
DIVISION	Proportion according to distribution	Proportion according to bilingualism
City	26	16
Central Gujarat ..	29	37
Kathiawad	5	5
North Gujarat ..	30	29
South Gujarat ..	10	13
State	100	100

352. Spread of Languages—There is another way in which the figures relating to bilingualism may be studied and which may be of interest. There are

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2.12 million speakers who own to Gujarati as their mother tongue. But 137,761 others or 44 per cent of the remainder (of those who speak the five chief languages) profess to use it habitually in addition to their mother tongue in the course of their ordinary avocations. Thus, the proportion of Gujarati rises from 868 per mille to 924. In the margin a small table is given showing the total spread of each language spoken both as a mother tongue and as a subsidiary.

Language	Speakers in nearest thousands	Percentage of remainder who use it as subsidiary to total of remainder
Gujarati—		
as Principal	2,120	
as Subsidiary	138	44.3
Marathi—		
as Principal	35	
as Subsidiary	1.5	.09
Western Hindi—		
as Principal	78	
as Subsidiary	12	.5
Kachchhi—		
as Principal	18	
as Subsidiary	1	.04
Bhil—		
as Principal	180	
as Subsidiary	....	....
Total	**2,431**	....

It is interesting to observe that those, whose mother tongue is not Hindustani, but who understand and use it as a subsidiary medium, are only a little more than a third of the number of literates in English in the State. But this question of the vogue of Hindustani (at least through its scripts Hindi and Urdu) has been already dealt with in the previous chapter.

353. Polylingualism—In connection with subsidiary languages, a reference must now be made to the collection of data regarding polylingualism, contained in Imperial Table XV—Part C. The main details of that table may be here summarised. Out of the total population, 2,431,334 speak the five main languages of the State. Of these 2,277,743 or over 93 per cent speak only one language (*i.e.* their mother tongue), 152,356 or 6 per cent speak two languages (their mother tongue and one subsidiary), and only 1,235 persons speak three or more languages. In linguistic proficiency one would have imagined that the City should have taken the lead with nearly 19 per cent of its inhabitants speaking two or more languages. But Okhamandal with its almost general combination of Kachchhi with Gujarati and *vice versa*, just beats it with a little over 20 per cent of linguists. Navsari (13.6 per cent) comes third, with Gujarati and the Bhil group interacting on one another. Taking by languages polylingualism is least evident with Gujarati as mother tongue—there being only 187 out of 2.1 million Gujarati speakers who profess to know two or more languages in addition. But 731 speakers out of 78 thousand odd who claim Hindustani as their vernacular are polylinguists: and 255 Deccanis have this proficiency. Bhili does not show any trace of polylingualism whatsoever. As mentioned above, there are only 1,235 polylinguists and 917 of these or nearly three-fourths are found in the City. The census instructions were careful to point out that only proficiency in three, and not more languages, need be shown. The object was to prevent humourists, pedants or such like from making fanciful claims to an encyclopædic acquaintance with dialects.

Family of Languages	Strength in 1931	Proportion per ten mille of total population
I—Indo-European	2,441,943	9,996
A—Indian	2,441,154	9,992
i. Central	2,386,327	9,768
ii. Pahari		
iii. Mediate		
iv. Southern	54,827	224
v. Eastern		
vi. North-West		
B—Southern Asiatic (Sinhalese) ..	1	
C—Eranian	535	
D—Dardic	3	4
E—European	250	
II—Dravidian	784	3
III—Tibeto Burman	13	
IV—Mongolian	46	
V—Gypsy	121	1
VI—Semitic	91	
VII—African	9	

§4. Some Observations on Grierson Classification

354. Classification of Languages—In Imperial Table XV, the classification adopted follows closely the Grierson model. The margin gives the main figures. The

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Indo-Aryan family has absolute predominance over other languages. Only 4 persons out of 10,000 in the population speak tongues not belonging to the Indo-European family. The Indian branch of that family of languages claims 9,992 out of ten mille; and the Central Group in which Gujarati is classed is the largest of the Indian languages. But if Gujarati, Bhil dialects and Rajasthani are separated from the Central Group and classed with the Mediate (Eastern Hindi), as recommended in the following paragraphs, then a different set of proportions is arrived at. The Central Group falls from 9,768 to only 324. The Mediate group rises from nil to 9,444.

355. Gipsy Languages: Pendhari and Odki—These two languages occur for the first time in the Baroda Census. A brief account of each is here given. Pendhari, as the Linguistic Survey states, is "the language of a tribe of no common race, and of no common language, represented by the 'Pindarees' of Indian history. These were plundering bands of freebooters, who welcomed to their ranks outlaws and broken men of all parts of India—Afghans, Marathas, Jats and so forth, and who were finally broken up by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817. At the present day they are represented by groups of people scattered over Central India, the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere. They have generally adopted the languages of their respective surroundings, but in parts of Bombay, they still have a home-language, which is called by the name of the tribe. As may be expected from the people's origin, this is a jargon—a mixture of rough Dakhini Hindustani, Marathi and Rajasthani." Pendhari is derived from "pendha," a sheaf, and the tribe originally must have derived its name from grass cutting. Odki is the dialect returned by Ods, a wandering tribe found all over India (*Vide* Appendix entitled "A Caste Glossary" at the end of the Chapter on Race, Tribe or Caste). The strength of the tribe is 2,028, while the number of Odki speakers is only 115. The name is derived probably from Telugu, and the majority of the Ods are found in South India. These speak a *patois* of Telugu, but those found in Gujarat and Cutch speak a form of dialect in which Gujarati and Marathi are the strongest Aryan influences. As a mixed form of speech the alien elements found in it are an indication of the wanderings of the tribe. "The Marathi element is particularly strong"—to quote from the Survey. "Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ẽ* as in Marāthī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēle*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ā* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *ī* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā̃*, in a, country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *malkatī-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gēlā*, went; *mārlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āwā*, come; the infinitives in *ũ* and *nā*; thus, *kehũ*, to say; *mārne*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens, and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marathi is not a home tongue of the population. Several of the usual terminations in Odki do not agree with Marathi but with Gujarati and Rajasthani. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Malvi; the ablative in *tī*; the locative in *mā̃*; forms such as *hẽ*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvī and Mārwārī *hũ*); *chhī*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *tīnē* (Gujarātī *īnē*) and so forth. The Gujarati element is strongest in Gujarati districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts. Features borrowed from languages other than Marathi and Gujarati have more of a local character. The locative termination *mā̃y*, which is prevalent in Mārwārī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad district, where Gujarati is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *d* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Panjabi dative termination *nũ* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects."

356. Some Notes on Classification—A few observations may here be permitted on the Grierson classification. The Indian Census, ever since the great work of Risley and Sir George Grierson appeared, has been dominated in its considerations of Race and Language by the weight of these formidable names. Occasionally a flippant Provincial Census Superintendent has dared to set aside the fine distinctions between Eastern and Western Hindi, and Bihari, and lump all speakers of these dialects under the general name of Hindustani, but generally the standard classification has been followed faithfully. In the Census Report of 1921, I suggested a departure from the classification scheme, by separating Gujarati and Rajasthani from the Central group and classing them in the Mediate group with Eastern Hindi. I ventured to do this because I thought that the orthodox classification was based on a view of Indian history and of Aryan linguistic developments which was not supported by facts. Briefly, it was suggested that the Grierson scheme was based on the idea that it was the language of the Midland "with its armies and its settlers" which pressed on the languages

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of the Outer Band, drove them further outward and produced a group of intermediate languages and that this idea had little support of historical evidence behind it. In his Introductory Volume (page 175 footnote) he refers to my contentions and while disagreeing with them suggests that the matter of history is not of much importance "as a question of pure philology." I submit that it is. In fact Dr. Grierson is himself so strongly influenced by his reading of Indo-Aryan race movements that his interpretation of Eastern Hindi and its relations with Western Hindi on one side and the Eastern group on the other is governed almost entirely by it. For instance his explanation of the conjugation of the verb may be mentioned. In Bengali and Bihari, he says the past tense of transitive verbs in the active voice is merely a reminiscence of an old passive construction with an enclitic suffix which has now lost its pronominal character and that in the Eastern Hindi, it is, to quote his picturesque phrase, "caught in the act of forgetting it," while in the Western Hindi, the full form of agential construction is in existence. Now such a process can only be based on his theory of the eastward pressure of the midland dialect, while the reality seems to be quite the reverse. If the passive construction was the original form of the Bengali past tense, surely its memory must have been preserved somehow in the Eastern Prakrit and in the later Magadhi or the Gaudi Apabhramsa. Nowhere is there the least evidence, to my knowledge of such a form. The Bengali past tense, in its present active form with the subject in the nominative case, is as old as it can be; so is the case with Bihari. In Awadhi, as Dr. Grierson himself shows, there is an Eastern as well as a Western form, the former using the nominative, *e.g.*, *U maris*, and the latter the agential, *e.g.*, *Ui maris*. Thus the actual facts of linguistic development show rather an outlandic system of languages pressing on the midland and being influenced by it. In Gujarati, it is true that the agential construction is in general use with transitive verbs, but the nominative construction with *lavavun* (to bring), *japvun* (to worship), *jamvun* (to eat), *tarvun* (to swim), *shikhvun* (to learn), etc., is not infrequently used, and it is the older form of the two. In Bhalan's *Kadambari* (*circa* xv century) an intermediate form is found, with the subject in the agential, the object in the nominative and the verbal participle in neuter, *e.g.*, "*tene hun dithu nahi*"—an approach to a true passive construction. The evolution seems therefore to be rather from the normal active construction, which is characteristic of the Outlandic group, through an intermediate passive stage with the object in the nominative case to a gradual return to the active construction, with the object in the accusative, although the agential is still retained. In Marathi on the other hand, both the alternatives of agential and nominative constructions are found where pronouns are subjects—the former older in time and the latter being the modern usage. Here is an instance of an older Midland influence, perhaps not unconnected with the tradition of Rama's stay in Panchavati, gradually giving way to the Outer band. The historical evidence is therefore important. Sir George Grierson in order to prove the strength of the Midland drive towards the Outlandic band is forced to have recourse to tradition about Panchalas and Kurus, but within historical times he can only mention isolated traditions about Kachhwahas and Rathaurs. On the other hand, ever since Indian tradition had become hardened into reliable history, *i.e.*, from about the ninth century B.C.—the era of the sixteen *janapadas*—, the main facts of race movements are all in support of the contrary view. The eruption of the Yadavas from the Himalayas through Mathura which he quotes in support cannot be held to be part of the movements of the Midland; while the remarkable influence of the Gurjaras on these languages is wholly ignored.

357. Gujarati and Eastern Hindi—At any rate I can see no objection to Gujarati and Rajasthani being classed with the Eastern Hindi group. They are all mixed forms of speech. All serve as links connecting the Midland dialect with the Outer Band. Gujarati and Rajasthani—the latter through its dialects—Marvadi, Jaipuri and Malvi—form an unbroken chain, with Bagheli and Awadhi, of Intermediate languages. I see no insuperable objection in conjoining these into one class, even though in the matter of the conjugation of the transitive verb in the past tense, Gujarati and Rajasthani make somewhat of a closer approach to Western Hindi than does Eastern Hindi. But this detail is not so vital as to necessitate the inclusion of Gujarati and Rajasthani with Western Hindi in the Central group. If the conjugation of the transitive verb is of importance, why is Marathi not similarly brought to the Central group? On the other hand, Gujarati and its closely allied sister, Rajasthani,—are so different from Western Hindi that they deserve to be separated. In its phonetics, in its retention of the neuter gender, in its *l*-past participal form, in its *s*-future system, in its oblique form for case terminations, and other particulars, it retains still certain essential characteristics of its old *Vrachad* base and extends one hand towards the West to Sindhi and Lahnda, and another towards the East through Malvi to the Magadhan system. For details of this argument, the reader is referred to my Census Report of 1921. Relevant extracts have been reproduced on this occasion in the form of an Appendix.

358. Why Change in Classification is insisted on?—These criticisms in support of a departure from the standard classification are not offered with a view to belittle the greatness of the work of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey, which will always remain

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an achievement of enduring value. But I feel a change *is* necessary, as otherwise the point about the essential character of Gujarati as a mixed language is missed if it is classed as an Inner language. It is, as has been pointed out already, a composite language with a network of connections with the whole band of Outlandic languages. Unlike most other Indian vernaculars, it bears on its body many tell-tale evidences of the various race elements that have gone to the formation of the composite Gujarati people. It is this richness and variety of community life that has given a distinctive colour to the language, as well as to its literature through the nine centuries of its striking progress.

§ 5. Literary Activities in the State

359. Details re: Publication of Books and News—From these considerations, we may now conclude our general review of the language returns by detailing a few figures showing the literary activity of the State. In the margin a small table is given showing the number of books published in the different languages in the three decades since 1901. The number in all languages seems to have doubled in the last 20 years, although in the latest decade, it has slightly declined, since 1921 particularly in Urdu and English. Taking the figures year by year since 1921, it appears that the number of books published rose from 279 to 459 in 1924-25, after which it fell gradually to only 126 in the latest year for which figures are available. Presumably literary progress was arrested after 1925, when financial and agrarian depression for a series of years reacted on the printing press enterprise in the State. Newspapers and magazines number 35 in 1931 as against the same number in 1921. The marginal table gives the kind of periodicals with the total of estimated circulation. The circulation of weeklies has alone increased, showing that in spite of increased literacy, there is comparatively little demand as yet of locally produced periodicals except weeklies. One reason is the competition of the vernacular newspapers from Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad and Kathiawad. Two vernacular dailies of Bombay have a circulation of over 500 in the State. Weeklies from outside also enjoy at least as large a circulation as some of the more popular of the local papers.

Language	Number of books published in		
	1921-31	1911-21	1901-11
Gujarati	1,709	} 1,801	1,023
Sanskrit-Gujarati ..	48		
English-Gujarati ..	37	51	..
English..	100	206	99
Hindi	99	47	..
Urdu	28	82	..
Marathi	103	103	19
Other languages ..	154	186	7
Total ..	2,278	2,476	1,148

Kind of Periodical	1931		1921	
	No.	Circulation	No.	Circulation
Weekly ..	6	12,000	7	9,130
Monthly ..	24	17,135	26	19,125
Bimonthly ..	2	700	..	..
Quarterly ..	3	3,200	2	800

360. State Encouragement to Literature—The above indications of literary activity show that in spite of economic depression much has been done in spite of the fact that private effort has suffered a decided setback in the last half of the decade. The main reason for this continuous activity is that State-aid to literary enterprise has continued undeterred by these circumstances. In the 1921 Report details were given of how State initiative was able to prop up private effort in the production of literature. The idea of translating standard books into Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi was started in 1912. Later the encouragement of individual scholars in the production of original works was taken in hand by the State. From 1917, the work has progressed at a very satisfactory rate. Two series were planned, the *Sayaji Sahitya Mala* meant for adults and *Sayaji Bala Gnana Mala* for the use of children. From 1912 to 1921, 87 books were published under the auspices of the State—66 in the *Sahitya* series and 21 in the children's series. During the last ten years 205 new books were planned, and altogether 128 were published in the *Sayaji Sahitya Mala* series and 69 in the children's series. These books became very popular, *e.g.*, 7,000 copies of Mr. Kashishankar's life of Dalpatram were sold. Among other noteworthy publications were Mr. Daji Nagesh Apte's remarkable Marathi essays on Progress and a competent translation of Kautilya's Arthashastra by Mr. J. P. Joshipura. Histories of Indian Music, Indian Medicine and modern Marathi literature were other undertakings successfully accomplished. A very laborious work was the production of *Shri Sayaji Shasan Shabda Kalpataru*, by a committee of local men under the *Nyaya Mantri* (Legal Remembrancer) as President. This work is a compendium of synonyms in eight languages including English and the principal Indian vernaculars for words commonly used for the purpose of legislation and administration. It is conceived in an eminently practical spirit and while aiming at purity in the Indian languages has striven for simplicity and clearness. The Gaekwad's Oriental Series, being published under the auspices of the State Oriental Institute, is another valuable contribution to scholarship in general and Indology in

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particular. The high standard of these publications has evoked praise from scholars like M. Sylvain Levi of Paris. During the decade 37 works were published ; and the range of their interest includes Persian history, poetics, dramaturgy, iconography and even *tantrik* rituals. Altogether 55 works have been so far published and 20 are still in the press. The late Pandit C. D. Dalal set a splendid tradition of scholarship which has been kept up under Dr. Bhattacharya, the present Director of the Institute, whose edition of *Sadhana Mala*—a Buddhist *tantric* text of rituals, *circa* 1165 A.D.—is an interesting excursion into an obscure byway of Indology. Other noteworthy publications of the decade are (*i*) *Tattva Sangraha* of Śāntarakśita (*circa* 750 A.D.), a voluminous production from the standpoint of Mahayana Buddhism, edited by Pandit Krishnamacharya, and (*ii*) Nyaya Pravasha of Dinnag, the Sanskrit text of which has been edited by that veteran scholar, Principal Dhruva of Benares University.

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII

Distribution by Language of the Population by Natural division

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of the Population Speaking												
	Gujarati as Mother Tongue—A					Bhil Dialects as Mother Tongues—B					Marathi as Mother Tongue—C		
	A only	With B as subsidiary	With C as subsidiary	With D as subsidiary	With E as subsidiary	B only	With A as subsidiary	With C as subsidiary	With D as subsidiary	With E as subsidiary	C only	With A as subsidiary	With B as subsidiary
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Baroda State	9,939	..	6	51	4	6,014	3,981	5	..	..	5,174	4,565	..
Central Gujarat including Baroda City	9,926	..	9	64	1	1,701	8,272	26	1	..	5,651	4,087	..
North Gujarat	9,959	..	3	38	..	2,500	7,500	..	..	..	2,146	7,587	..
South Gujarat	9,909	..	9	82	..	6,969	3,031	..	..	..	3,471	6,384	..
Kathiawad	9,916	..	5	32	47	3,333	6,667	..	..	..	4,705	4,702	..

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of the Population Speaking											
	Marathi as Mother Tongue —C		Western Hindi as Mother Tongue—D					Kachchhi as Mother Tongue—E				
	With D as subsidiary	With E as subsidiary	D only	With A as subsidiary	With B as subsidiary	With C as subsidiary	With E as subsidiary	E only	With A as subsidiary	With B as subsidiary	With C as subsidiary	With D as subsidiary
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Baroda State	260	1	4,624	5,340	..	28	8	5,181	4,555	..	2	262
Central Gujarat including Baroda City	262	..	4,804	5,146	..	38	12	2,202	6,849	..	..	859
North Gujarat	267	..	4,682	5,311	..	7	..	4,580	4,605	..	19	706
South Gujarat	142	3	3,630	6,344	..	26	..	3,540	6,136	..	..	324
Kathiawad	400	13	4,503	5,435	..	37	25	5,430	4,419	..	1	150

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX-A

Group of Language	Baroda State			Baroda City			Amreli		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A—*Mother Tongue Gujarati with the following as Subsidiary*	*2,119,551*	*1,088,238*	*1,031,313*	*63,842*	*34,922*	*28,920*	*165,812*	*84,617*	*81,195*
i. Marathi	1,169	893	276	424	348	76	55	48	7
ii. Western Hindi	10,758	7,916	2,842	2,275	1,855	420	422	370	52
iii. Kachchhi	911	496	415	10	7	3	97	78	19
B—*Mother Tongue Bhil Dialects with the following as Subsidiary*	*180,384*	*91,427*	*88,957*	*530*	*279*	*251*	*45*	*22*	*23*
i. Gujarati	71,819	38,552	33,267	179	90	89	30	14	16
ii. Marathi	88	56	32	84	52	32	..	..	..
iii. Western Hindi	3	2	1	3	2	1	..	..	..
C—*Mother Tongue Marathi with the following as Subsidiary.*	*35,532*	*19,086*	*16,446*	*25,514*	*13,515*	*11,999*	*1,035*	*580*	*455*
i. Gujarati	16,139	9,867	6,272	10,186	6,422	3,764	532	294	238
ii. Western Hindi	920	654	266	591	362	229	28	24	4
iii. Kachchhi	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
D—*Mother Tongue Western Hindi with the following as Subsidiary*	*78,188*	*42,684*	*35,504*	*19,752*	*11,856*	*7,896*	*3,436*	*1,884*	*1,552*
i. Gujarati	41,751	23,999	17,752	6,341	4,315	2,026	2,092	1,217	875
ii. Marathi	217	152	65	142	93	49	8	7	1
iii. Kachchhi	60	3	57	52	..	52	..	..	..
E—*Mother Tongue Kachchhi with the following as Subsidiary.*	*17,679*	*8,907*	*8,772*	*255*	*143*	*112*	*3,417*	*1,590*	*1,827*
i. Gujarati	8,052	4,417	3,635	166	110	56	3,335	1,072	1,263
ii. Marathi	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
iii. Western Hindi	463	313	150	22	14	8	298	181	117

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX-B

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of the Total Population who speak *Gujarati* as Mother Tongue					Number per 10,000 of the Total Population who speak *Bhil* Dialects as Mother Tongue				
	As mother tongue only	With Marathi as subsidiary	With Western Hindi as subsidiary	With Kachchhi as subsidiary	Total speakers of Gujarati as mother tongue	As mother tongue only	With Gujarati as subsidiary	With Marathi as subsidiary	With Western Hindi as subsidiary	Total speakers of Bhil dialects as mother tongue
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Baroda State	8,623	5	44	4	8,676	444	294	..	..	738
Central Gujarat	8,591	7	56	..	8,654	69	328	..	..	397
Kathiawad	8,837	4	28	41	8,910	0·7	1·3	..	..	2
North Gujarat	9,674	3	36	..	9,713	0·02	0.06	..	..	0·08
South Gujarat	5,920	5	88	..	6,013	2,544	1,107	..	..	3,651

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—INCIDENCE OF BILINGUALISM

BARODA			MEHSANA			NAVSARI			OKHAMANDAL		
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
649,576	*343,212*	*306,364*	*980,985*	*497,001*	*483,984*	*243,147*	*120,130*	*123,017*	*16,189*	*8,356*	*7,833*
147	114	33	295	226	69	213	129	84	35	28	7
2,321	1,593	728	3,576	2,725	851	2,006	1,227	779	158	146	12
29	19	10	26	18	8	2	2	..	747	372	375
32,149	*15,644*	*16,505*	*8*	*3*	*5*	*147,652*	*75,479*	*72,173*	..	..	..
26,854	13,271	13,583	6	3	3	44,750	25,174	19,576	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2,868	*1,611*	*1,257*	*1,873*	*1,021*	*852*	*3,786*	*2,044*	*1,742*	*456*	*315*	*141*
1,414	925	489	1,421	792	629	2,417	1,311	1,106	169	123	46
152	142	10	50	43	7	54	41	13	45	42	3
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	2	..
23,030	*12,059*	*10,971*	*22,815*	*11,828*	*10,987*	*3,545*	*4,633*	*3,912*	*610*	*424*	*186*
15,673	9,118	6,555	12,117	6,405	5,712	5,421	2,866	2,555	107	78	29
21	18	3	17	12	5	22	15	7	7	7	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	5
478	*283*	*195*	*524*	*289*	*235*	*339*	*241*	*98*	*12,666*	*6,361*	*6,305*
336	229	107	246	145	101	208	127	81	4,761	2,734	2,027
1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
41	28	13	37	30	7	11	11	..	55	49	5

—DISTRIBUTION BY LANGUAGE PER 10,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION WHO SPEAK *Marathi* AS MOTHER TONGUE					NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION WHO SPEAK *Western Hindi* AS MOTHER TONGUE					NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION WHO SPEAK *Kachchhi* AS MOTHER TONGUE				
As mother tongue only	With Gujarati as subsidiary	With Western Hindi as subsidiary	With Kachchhi as subsidiary	Total speakers of Marathi as mother tongue	As mother tongue only	With Gujarati as subsidiary	With Marathi as subsidiary	With Kachchhi as subsidiary	Total speakers of Western Hindi as mother tongue	As mother tongue only	With Gujarati as subsidiary	With Marathi as subsidiary	With Western Hindi as subsidiary	Total speakers of Kachchhi as mother tongue
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
76	66	4	..	146	148	171	1	..	320	37	33	..	2	72
194	141	9	..	344	249	267	2	1	519	2	6	..	1	9
35	34	4	..	73	89	108	1	..	198	423	347	..	17	787
5	14	..	..	19	106	120	..	..	226	3	2	..	..	5
34	60	..	..	94	77	134	..	..	211	3	5	..	..	8

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APPENDIX VII

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON CLASSIFICATION *

1. Some Considerations on Classification—In the body of the Report the classification laid down by Sir George Grierson has been strictly followed. In regard to this classification, certain considerations will have now to be mentioned, for which purpose we shall have to leave aside figures for a bit and plunge into past history and comparative grammar and philology. In the scheme adopted in the Linguistic Survey, as also in the latest pamphlet issued by Sir George Grierson, Gujarati is included with Western Hindi in the Central group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan Branch of Languages: Urdu, Hindustani and Hindi are therein classed as dialects of Western Hindi. Bhil dialects and Khandeshi are included along with Gujarati in the Central Group; Kachchhi is put in the North-Western group of the Outer Sub-Branch as a dialect of Sindhi and Marathi is treated along with Sinhalese as members of the Southern Group of the Outer Sub-Branch. These are the main languages with which this State is concerned.

2. Consequences of the Classification—This classification involves certain consequences the importance of which must be realised. In the first place, it brings Gujarati into far more intimate nearness to the Midland language than Awadhi, for instance, with whose vocabulary that of the other dialects of Hindustani is very largely identical, and whose contribution to the common literature of Hindustani has been as great, if not greater than, that of its Western partner. In the second place, it has resulted in snapping the ancient ties that bind Gujarati with Kachchhi and through it, with that group of North-Western languages, from the speakers of which a great portion of the Gujarati population trace their descent. In the third place, the classification loses sight of the numerous strands of affinity that exist between Gujarati and Maharashtri on the one hand especially through the cultural influences of Jainism, and Magadhi on the other through their common Vaishnavism for one thing and their phonetic and grammatical resemblances. Lastly it must be said that Sir George Grierson was influenced in his classification as much by his preconceived notions of Indo-Aryan origins, as by the somewhat artificial classification of Prakrits and Apabhramsas favoured by the Indian Grammarians.

3. Grierson Classification based on his Theory of Indo-Aryan Movements—First as to history. It was Dr. Hoernle, I think, who was the first to suppose that there were two waves of Indo-Aryan immigration into India. The first wave came probably by sea, it was assumed, in the pre-historic period, and the second came later from the North-West through land and driving itself through the Punjab to the *Madhyadesa*, it thrust itself as a wedge into this other prehistoric Aryan group and drove them to what is called the Outer Band. That there were two ethnic strains amongst the Aryas is supported by the evidence of the Vedas themselves. There were the Rishi or the priest-poet clans such as the Angirasas and Vashishthas and the others were the warrior tribes such as the Yadus, Turvasas and Purus. This racial differentiation, it may be also admitted, stamped itself on the language of the Indo-Aryans. But the point of dispute is the inter action of the one on the other. Sir George Grierson is of opinion that the language of the Midlands "received a constant literary culture." It was the direct ancestor of the Sauraseni Prakrit and Apabhramsa from which the dialects of Western Hindi are descended.

"Round the Midland and on three sides—west, south and east—lay a country inhabited, even in Vedic times, by other Indo-Aryan tribes. This tract included the modern Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana with the country to its east, Oudh and Bihar. The various Indo-Aryan dialects spoken over this band were all more closely related to each other than was any of them to the language of the Midland. . . . . In fact at an early period of the linguistic history of India there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects, one the language of the Midland and the other that of the Outer Band. . . . . As time went on, the population of the Midland expanded and forced the Outer Band into a still wider circuit. The Midland conquered the eastern Punjab, Rajputana (with Gujarat, where it reached the sea) and Oudh. With its armies and its settlers it carried its language, and hence in all these territories we now find mixed forms of speech. The basis of each is that of the Outer Band, but the body is that of the Midland."†

* Abridged from paras 322-27 of the Baroda Census Report of 1921.

† Art. "Indo-Aryan languages" by Sir George Grierson, p. 488, Vol. XIV, Encyc. Britt. 11th Edition.

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In this statement, Sir George Grierson attempts to fit in his sense of linguistic differences to an elaborate reconstruction of Indo-Aryan movements which has little historical evidence for its support. As Professor Ramaprasad Chanda rightly points out in his monograph on *The Indo-Aryan Races*, Eastern Punjab (or the ancient Usinara) was not in the Outer Band at all but formed an integral part of Vedic Aryandom. He quotes an ethnographical list from the Aitereya Brahmana in which the Vasas, Kurus and Panchalas are included with the Usinaras as part of the "firmly fixed middle country (*asyam dhruvayam madhyamayam disi*)." There was no question therefore of the conquest of the Punjab by the Midland. As to the other countries, there is little historical evidence to support the statement that "with its armies and its settlers it carried its language." Whether the Midland Aryans came later than the other group of Aryans, or whether they preceded them, is one of those problems that have not yet emerged into shape from the cloudland of speculative ethnology. But at the same time, there is no reason to suppose the Vedic Indo-Aryans to be a conquering band of colonisers, before whose might the nations of the Outer Band rapidly gave way. On the other hand, such traditions as we have, point to the other direction. Gujarat or the ancient Anartta was under the rule, if the Puranic lists are to be believed, of a scion of the Yadavas even down to Buddhistic times. Kathiawad or Saurashtra continued under the rule of the so-called Rakshasas in the Epic period. We have historical evidence of the swooping down of the Gurjaras from the Western Punjab, across the Aravallis, through Malwa to Gujarat. The Scythian period of domination also left its impress no doubt on the heterogeneous Gujarat population. The Chalukyas, it is known, did overrun the country from the south; but there is no evidence of any conquering horde coming from the Madhyadesa and imposing its language on Gujarat. The short-lived imperialism of Harsha, "the only native of Madhyadesa who ever succeeded in subduing" the countries of the Outer Band did indeed result in the over-running of Gujarat for a little while; but after his death his empire crumbled into small kingdoms. There is little doubt that the nations of the Outer Band belonged to the dominant groups amongst the Indo-Aryans. The same passage as above quoted from the *Aitereya Brahmana* also points out that the nations of the Middle country were consecrated to "kingdoms," *i.e.*, small states, and that the other nations (mostly of the east, *prachyam diśi*) were given to *samrajya* or Empire states. This points to the greater power of the Outer Band. Again one of the most significant events in Indian history is the rise to power of the Nandas. As Professor Chanda says, "the subjugation of Vedic Aryandom by a low-born conqueror from the semi-barbarous Magadha probably contributed much more towards the over-throw of the Vedic culture than the teachings of Buddha and Mahavira." Then followed the Mauryas, the historical Naga and Gupta dynasties with the Scythian interlude in between. All these powers belonged ethnically to the Outer Band. "It was not therefore the conquering armies of the Midland but the armies and settlers from Māgadha and other Outer countries that carried their languages to Oudh and other places where the mixed languages are now spoken."

4. Affinities of Gujarati with the Outer Band Group—Later researches therefore enable us to conclude that the present position of the languages like Gujarati is not so much the result of the superior impact of the Madhyadesa on the Outer Band, as of the reverse. Whatever super-imposition from the Midland has happened is of a much later date. In the Linguistic Survey, Sir George Grierson accepts the authority of the grammarian Hemachandra and traces the modern Gujarati to the Nagara Apabhramsa, a language closely akin to the Saurasena. Hemachandra was a great Jaina Acharya who flourished in the 12th century A.D. The Nagara Apabhramsa takes its name from the Nagar Brahmans, an exclusive literary caste, which exercised unbounded influence on the growth and development of the Gujarati language. Here was the impact of the Midland, not communicated through armies and conquering settlers, but by the literary influence of a caste, which though probably not descended from the Midland constituted itself as the special repository and transmitter of the culture of Vedic Aryandom. This Nagar caste forged the literary dialect of Gujarat perhaps through the *Mugdhava bodh mauktika**—written anonymously by a pupil of Devasundara shortly before the appearance of Narsinh Mehta (circa 1400). This literary dialect has adapted itself as far as possible to the language of the people and has gradually developed into the spoken language of the educated sections of Gujarat, and the medium of its literature. But with all that it has remained absolutely distinct through the centuries. Any one with the slightest acquaintance with Gujarati will mark out at once the characteristic marks of this dialect—its Sanskritisation, its periphrases, its otiose clarity of enunciation—from the bulk of Gujarati speakers. In its characteristic accent the Nagar dialect differs widely from the intonation of the other castes (even educated sections amongst them). Sir George Grierson says, "that the base of Gujarati is some Outlandic language (probably north-western) but that its body is Midland." The truth seems to be if the relative position of the Nagar dialect with reference to the indigenous dialects of Gujarati is more closely studied, that not only the

* The book in question was written in 1394 A.D. and appears to be an elementary Sanskrit Grammar, written in an old form of Gujarati. Sir George Grierson finds in it a close connection with the Gaurjara Apabhramsa.

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base of it but a goodly proportion of its limbs and its accent and distinctive manner belong to the Outer Band, while its adornments and its fripperies are from the Midland. Sir George Grierson himself points out numerous evidences of the affinities of Gujarati to the North-western, Eastern and Southern groups, but is not influenced by them in his classification. In the Encyclopædia Britannica article, from which the extract in para 3 has been quoted, he gives a table, in which he traces Gujarati from what he calls the Gaurjari Apabhramsa* and places it amongst Intermediate languages corresponding apparently to the Mediate Sub-Branch of his Survey along with Eastern Hindi (Awadhi), Rajasthani, Pahari and even Panjabi. The classing of Gujarati along with Eastern Hindi would have been more justifiable than the arrangement pursued in the Survey. It is in defence of the suggestion that Gujarati (with Bhili and Khandeshi) should in future be definitely allocated to the Mediate Branch that attention is directed here forcibly to its affinities with the languages of the Outer Band.

5. Phonetic Resemblances with the Outer Band—That such affinities are many and highly significant cannot be denied. Space permits us only to point out the most important. First as to phonetics. The Sanskrit syllabary imposed on the Gujarati language is inadequate for all its sound-requirements. The short *e* corresponding to *a* in *bat* and the short *o* corresponding to *a* in *fall* are very common to Gujarati; and in colloquial Gujarati not unlike colloquial Bengali the Sanskrit *a* frequently becomes the broad *ô* and *i* becomes *e*. The broad *ô* is common not only in Bengali and Oriya, but also in Lahnda and in the Konkani dialect of Marathi. The Gujarati preference for *o* instead of *an* has its counter part in Sindhi and Assamese. The short *ai* which is a feature of the Lahnda vowel system occurs also in Gujarati very frequently, as in *bhăi*, pronounced without the long stress on *a* as in Western Hindi. Again the sibilants tend in colloquial Gujarati as in Sindhi and Bengali to be pronounced like *sh*‡. In Bengali this characteristic is regarded by scholars as a legacy from the Magadhi Prakrita. As to aspiration, Sir George Grierson points out as a peculiarity of Kashmiri phonetics, the absence of sonant aspirates. Thus *gh* becomes, *g*, *jh* becomes *j*, *dh* becomes *d*, and *th* becomes *t*. This absence of aspiration is well-marked in colloquial Gujarati, *e.g.*, *ekatu* for *ekthu*, *hāte* for *hāthe*. The Nagarists have retained the aspirate in their orthography with an eye to purity of lineage: there is a whole literature of controversy scattered in the pages of the Gujarati magazine *Vasant* regarding this aspirate. Much literary blood has flown over the spelling of the word *ame* (we). Now this dropping of the sonant aspirate is a marked feature of the Eastern Bengal dialect where *ghar* becomes *gar* and *ghoda*, *gora*. The change of *s* into *h* is a well-known phonetic peculiarity with Northern Gujarati and also in Bhil dialects; thus *manah* for *manas* (man), *huraj* for *suraj*. This peculiarity is present in the Pisacha languages as well as in Eastern Bengali and Assamese where *svasur* (father-in-law) becomes *hour* and *sakal* is turned into *hogol* or *hoggol*. Examples of the interchangeability of *n*'s and *i*'s of *metathesis* (*i.e.*, of interchange of consonants in the same word), of tendency to double consonants and similar phonetic peculiarities can be quoted from Gujarati as well as from the Outer languages.

6. Epenthesis in Gujarati—One most important point remains to be noticed. Sir George Grierson rightly insists on *epenthesis* as an important differentiating mark with Dardic or Pisachi languages. By *epenthesis* is meant simply the change of the sound of a vowel by the influence of one in the next syllable. Thus *kukkari* (hen) becomes *kukkir* by attraction to the final *i*. Sir George Grierson does not notice this in Gujarati but I submit that evidence of a like vowel change are numerous in that language. In the phrase *ene gher* for the full form *ena ghare* (in his house), we see how the oblique case termination *a* of *ena* is changed to *e* and so also *ghare* becomes *gher* by attraction. In the Surati dialect of Gujarat, numerous instances of vowel changes happen which resemble *epenthesis*. Sir George Grierson mentions some but does not notice their significance. In regard to forms like *lavyo*, *karyo*, *chalyo*, *maryo*, the Surati changes them into *laivo*, *kairo*, *chailo*, *mairo*, etc. Exactly the same thing happens in Eastern Bengali where the literary Bengali *koriya*, *choliya*, *asiya* are transformed into *koira*, *choila*, *ayesa*. This peculiarity is undoubtedly a north-western characteristic and governed by the same principles as *epenthesis*.

7. Grammatical Resemblances—Grammatical resemblances are no less remarkable. In certain essential directions, Gujarati has no correspondence with Western Hindi. Some of the most prominent of these dissimilarities can only be mentioned. The first is the existence of the neuter gender. This is noted by Sir George Grierson, who mentions it as one of the points wherein Gujarati differs strongly from Western Hindi and agrees with Marathi, an Outer language. Gujarati also follows, says the same authority, "the Outer Circle in one of its most persistent characteristics in having the oblique form in *a*, which is quite strange to Western Hindi." The use of the help verb, *chhu* (I am) in the present and perfect and future (gerundial) tenses occurs also in various forms in the languages of the Outer Circle. In the Bengali conjugation, this help verb is fused into the participle to form one word. In this

* In the Language Chapter of the Indian Census Report of 1901, Sir George Grierson regards Gujarati as a dialect of the Nagara Apabhramsa.

‡ In Surati dialect, however the reverse tendency of pronouncing all *s*'s as simple *s* is seen.

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respect colloquial Gujarati follows at least in pronunciation if not in spelling. Sir George Grierson maintains that Gujarati declension as well as conjugation agrees generally with Western Hindi, in that it is analytical, *i.e.*, has recourse to help-words and post-positions. He however admits the important exception in respect of the Gujarati dative and genitive cases. Here Gujarati follows the practice of the Outer Circle, which is synthetic, *i.e.*, forms its cases by means of inflectional terminations. The most synthetic of Indo-Aryan vernaculars are no doubt Marathi and Bengali, and in comparison, Gujarati is certainly analytical in its manner of declension. But I venture to think that Sir George Grierson based his opinion too much on the stereotyped formularies of the grammarians and not on the actual facts of living speech. These facts point indubitably to a pronounced synthetic tendency in Gujarati. The help-words in the conjugation are only required in the present continuous and the participial tenses. Even here in colloquial speech and pronunciation, the words are so slurred and fused that they become one word. In Parsi Gujarati which is only a developed form of Surati dialect,—these syncopated forms are found throughout the participial as well as the future tenses. Here the practice has a striking resemblance to the clipped forms which are so common in colloquial Western Bengali. I am of opinion that this syncopation is part of the process of synthetisation which in some Outlandic languages may be taken to be a return to the earliest form of Primary Prakrit, *karoch, kariech, karecha, karsu* from Parsi Gujarati, and even such forms from the Standard Gujarati as *kehto'to, n'hoto* are examples of this widespread tendency. Gujarati conjugation is in its essence though not in its form synthetic. One or two other points can only be mentioned in this brief discussion. The formation of the simple future by *s*, which obtains in Gujarati, is also found in Lahnda, and in some dialects of Rajasthani of which Jaipuri and Marwadi agree most closely with Gujarati. To quote again from the Survey on this important point: "One of typical characteristics of Lahnda is formation of the future with the letter *s* . . . . . There is nothing like this in Sindhi . . . . . but the *s* reappears still further south, in Gujarati where we have *marśe*. The connecting link is Western Rajasthani immediately to the south of Lahnda. We thus have a line of languages with *s*-futures extending without a break from the north of Khagan, through the Western Punjab, and Western Rajputana into Gujarat." Historically this link is interesting for it traces approximately the passage of the Gujars into Gujarat.* Finally we will mention the case of the agential construction. The construction is an amplification of the Hindustani impersonal passive. In Hindustani impersonal passive construction, the object is put in the dative case, the participial verb into the masculine gender, and the subject is in the agential. In Gujarati, the verb is generally made to agree in gender and number with the object. In Marathi of the Konkan, there is the same idiom. These idioms are based on the fact that in the Midland language as well as in some Intermediate and Outlandic languages like Gujarati, Marathi and Sindhi, past and future participles are passive in their origin, and hence tenses in which they are used are to be construed passively. In Bengali, however, this passive origin has been forgotten, and a synthetic past tense has been evolved which can be conjugated as in Sanskrit. In Gujarati, in certain transitive verbs, *e.g.*, *samjyo* (I understood), the subject is put in the nominative and not in the agential. These verbs are not many, but at any rate they represent a stage further than the Western Hindi in the development towards a synthetic conjugation.

8. Proposed Classification—The above discussion emboldens us to suggest that Gujarati should be separated from the Central group, and that Jaipuri and Marwardi (or at least Marwadi) should be assigned to Gujarati. Their close resemblance to it has been already mentioned above and it has been also fully acknowledged by Sir George Grierson himself (*vide* p. 15, Vol. IX—Part II of the Linguistic Survey). Gujarati scholars have claimed Marwadi as a dialect of their language and they have reason. Gujarati with Bhili and Khandeshi should be classed as an Intermediate language in the Mediate Branch, along with Eastern Hindi. There remains Kachchhi. Gujarati scholars claim it also as one of their dialects. It has numerous evidences of borrowings from the Gujarati of which the use of the Gujarati conjunctive participle in *ine* is very common. The Survey states the main facts in this matter on page 184 of Vol. VIII—Part I. There are two sub-divisions of Kachchhi,—Bhatia, which has been mentioned already, and Kayasthi Kachchhi. The latter is based on Kachchhi but much mixed with Marwadi and Gujarati. These two come very close to Kathiawadi Gujarati. But there is one insuperable obstacle about classing Kachchhi with Gujarati or the Mediate languages generally. It is in regard to the treatment of the double consonants derived from the Prakrit. In most languages of the Inner and Outer branches, the practice is to drop one of the double consonants and lengthen the vowel preceding. In Kachchhi as well as Sindhi, this compensatory lengthening does not happen, although one of the consonants is dropped. Thus we have *hath* (hand) not *hatth*, or *hath, kan* (ear) and not *kann* or *kan*. This is one of the most distinctive peculiarities of Dardic languages; Kachchhi therefore belongs to Sindhi and the North Western Group.

* Sir George Grierson, however, thinks that the *s*-future had its origin in the Inner circle, *vide* page 335 foot-note, India Census Report of 1901. But the explanation given above seems more plausible.

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APPENDIX VIII

MAVCHI AND BAVCHI

1. Introductory—In the Census Report of 1921, the view held by Mr. Dalal in 1901 that Bavchi was a gipsy dialect was controverted and Bavchi and Mavchi were stated to be closely allied dialects, just as these two tribes were closely related. On the present occasion, an attempt was made to find out their connection. The Mavchi occurring in South Songadh is somewhat different from Khandeshi variety, a specimen of which has been included in the Survey (Vol. IX, pp. 95 *et seq.*). It has more Gujarati admixture and even case-terminations, as the following specimen will show. Possibly as the Survey states, its specimen was coloured by the Marathi speaking man who prepared the text. There is an important point of difference however. The text shown below gives the agential construction—*vāhne poire tyā bahkkal akhyān* (the younger son spoke to the father); while according to the Survey the nominative construction (showing Marathi affinities), *e.g.*, *tō abōhōl akhyā* (he said to his father) is alternatively used. The Bavchi specimen given side by side is the translation of the same extract (as set for the Mavchi) from the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Two intelligent Bavchas —one a sixth standard Vernacular passed youth, who seemed a very knowledgable sort of fellow and was a chauffeur by profession, and another, a peon in government office in the City—were selected for this purpose. The second was illiterate, and was used by me while taking down the specimen to counteract whatever Gujarati influence the first may have shown in his translation :—

MAVCHI	BAVCHI
Yoka jāne ben poira 'ātā.	Ek māhvā ben poha 'āttā.
Tyāhā mẽiṇé vāhné poiré tyā	Timai thīne vahyané pohé tyā
bāhkkāl āknyāṇ : " Apuṇ	ābālā akhiyaka : " O Aba, āphe
māl māl milkāt māhné	mal matā māithine
jō mān bhāg ô etō tō	jō māṇ bāg ō-i, to
vāntine mān dā." Tyā	māl vehṇchine dé." Ti-yia
upne bāhkén tyā-ā	upethine ābé ti-yia potā
milkāt vanti deni.	milkat véhṇchi deni.
Thod-hā dĩhin viti giya	Thod-hā di-yi-hiyā pachchi
pāchhe vāhno pōirō tyā	vahyano pōhō ti-yi-ā
badi milkāt yokthi koyne	hōgi milkat la-yi-ne
du-u' mulkhāl chalīyo giyo.	du' gāvḍé jātō rōyō.
Ane tān thod-hā dīhamāṇ-é	Ane tān āglā thod-ha
tya māl milkāt mōj mōjamāṇ-e	di-yīhi tiyi a mal milkat moj majah māṇ-i
udāvi deni. Jo-ve tyen badāṇ	'udāvi deni. Jōve ti-yi-yen hoga
udavi dena, to-ve tyā	údavidentā, tōve ti-yia
mulkhāl Kāl pōdyō né	gāvāmāṇ-i Kāl podi-yio né
tō garib 'ālat māṇ-é	tō garib 'ālat māṇ-i
yei pōdyō ne tyā mulkhamāṇ-e	ō-i gō-yio ane ti-yia gāvamaṇ-inā
ronara maiṇ-na yok ja-āṇ paṇi jāine to rọ-an	Ek mahva tāṇ, tō rōvāṇ
tāgyō tyā gōryō	lagi-yio. Ti-yia govān
dōyṇe tyāl tyā ranamṇ-e	dani-yīé ti-yī-ālā ti-yia khetāmaiṇ-i
ḍukra chara dovdyo.	buṇ-dhde chovādā dōvdi-yio.
Tōve tyén rānāmāṇ-ena	Tove ti-yiéṇ khet a māṇ-yina
ḍukrāhā khāinā chhodāṇ-han	buṇ-dhdu khai-yanaṇ chholta

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MAVCHI	BAVCHI
māṇ-ené bōyăno vichār kâ-yao	māṇ-ithine ti-yia pet boi-no irado karyo
ane kadéṇ tyāl kaiṇ dā-āṇ	ane kādhāṇi ti-yiala kāin
mādyāṇ nāiṇ-e tove tyal	denāṇ nāin-iyā, tove ti-yiala
akkāl yeni né tyén tya-yaj	hamaj i-yene ane ti-yien
man-māṇ-e vichar koiyokā	man-māṇ-i vichār koiyokā
māṇ-āṇ bāhkātān	māṇ āba tāṇ
kamar-yāhā khainā hāti	majurlokha khai-māṇ vāste
joje tyā kōyătān vodāre	khubuch
bakhi-i ti-yār kōyeteṇ-hén.	bakhi-yio rāṇ-di-yia māṇ-yiā iye-thi-hyo
ne āiṇ'-i bukhé mōvtahuṇ.	ane āiṇ'-i bukhé mōhūṇ.
āiṇ'-i uṭhine bāhka pāṇ-ye	āin'-i māṇ ābā pāhān
jā hiṇ-ne akh-hiṇko " Oh Bahka	jāi-hi ane akhihiṇ ka " O Ābā
āin-i tō'-ō né par mehra	aiṇ'-i tumhe ane bagwānā ḁglā
gunhegar hetā ūṇ ne	gunegār heto ane
aiṇ'-i firi pāso pōiro	āin'-i firithi tumhe poho
ākhāṇ tāyak maiṇ, ten-ye	ākhādnā rōkhō nahāṇ, tethi
tumeṇ āliyāṇ-mān-e	tumhe chākar māṇ-ina
yōka āli kōi-ne rākhā."	ek chākar rōknō thovā."

2. Points of Similarity—The above specimens indicate how closely allied the two dialects are. The same Gujarati passage from the Parable of the Prodigal Son was given for translation into these dialects independently at two different places—one at Songadh and the other in Baroda City. As a result at places a paraphrasing has happened, *e.g., jato royo* (Bavchi) and *chaliyo giyo* (Mavchi). Occasionally also different words are used as *gava* in Bavchi for *mulkh* in Mavchi, *khet* (in Bavchi) for *ranñ* (in Mavchi), *bagwan* (in Bavchi) for *parmehra* (in Mavchi), and so on. But Bavchi shows more Gujarati influence, that is all. In all essentials however the two dialects are almost identical. The phonetics are the same. The short *a* has the same sound in both. Both show a cockney tendency in dropping *h*, *e.g., 'ālat* for *hālat, bāg* for *bhāg, bagwān* for *bhagwān*, etc. In both, vowels are very commonly nasalised. In both, *r* is frequently elided between vowels. Both drop *s* for *h*. Both have only two genders. The case terminations are mostly similar: the only difference seems to be that the locative—*l* in Mavchi gives place to—*mān* in Bavchi (which is a Gujarati borrowing). The Survey however states that locative suffix in *māṇ* is also found in Mavchi. The dative is —*l* or *la* with both dialects. Both show the combined case-terminations "*māṇ-ina*" (of-among) which is found in Gujarati. The verb shows many similarities—the most important being the conjugation of the transitive verb—which is the same as in Standard Gujarati. The participial forms are alike, only in Bavchi, a lengthened form is used in which the vowels have their full value, perhaps a legacy preserved in its archaic form from the Apabhramsa from which the dialect takes its origin. The imperative is—*a* in Mavchi, and —*e* in Bavchi. The frequent use of—*ne* in Bavchi after participial words, *e.g., la-yi-ne* and its comparative absence in Mavchi shows different degrees of Gujarati influence. One trace of Marathi in Mavchi is the use of *saṭi* (pronounced *haṭi*) which in Bavchi becomes the ordinary *vāste* (on account of).

3. Conclusion—These remarks are necessary in respect of these two dialects, for it is just possible that at the next census, both of them may disappear from the returns. Indeed Mavchi did disappear in 1921, possibly through a mistake of record or compilation. But both these dialects are fast giving place to Marathi and Gujarati. Varli is a form of Mavchi with strong Marathi influence.

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CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

§ 1. Main Religious Distribution

361. Reference to Statistics—After dealing with different types of statistical material which are compiled for the census, we are concerned in this chapter and in the next, with two of the main principles of division on which most of the figures are based. This chapter deals with the figures contained in Imperial Table XVI which has three parts. Part A gives the distribution of the population by religion. Part B details the strength of various sects comprised in each of the four main religions. Part C gives the figures of Christians by sect and race. State Table XVII gives the distribution of figures of sects in the administrative divisions. As usual, these absolute figures are rearranged in natural divisions and converted into proportions in Subsidiary Tables of which the following is the list :—

Subsidiary Table I—General Distribution of the Population by Religion.

" " II—Christians—Number and Variations.

" " III—Religion of Urban and Rural Population.

" " IV—Sects of Hinduism classified according to their nature.

362. Instructions to the Enumerating Staff—A summary of the standard instructions for recording responses to column 5 of the questionnaire is given below :—

(*i*) The name of the religion was to be entered in column 5 and thereafter with a small dash, the name of the sect was to be shown.

(*ii*) A list of the principal religions occurring in the State was given for ready reference.

(*iii*) For Brahmos and Aryas, the staff was enjoined to enter what the individual declared. Members of the Prarthana Samaj were to be shown as "Brahmo."

(*iv*) Regarding "Raniparaj" tribes, it was laid down that those who called themselves Hindu should be entered as such, and that those who did not do so, should have the name of their tribe or caste entered in the column of religion, *e.g.*, Chodhra, Kokna, Vasawa, etc.

(*v*) Then followed detailed instructions re: sects, the names of principal ones, and the chief varieties under each. Thus "Vaishnava" includes Vallabhachari, Ramanuji, Swaminarayan, Ramanandi, etc. "Shaiva" includes Smarta and Dakshinachari Shakta. Under "Shakta", the third great division of Hindu sectaries, it was specially laid down on this occasion that the staff were to distinguish between the non-descript worshippers of *Mata*—the bulk of whom are Kolis and Raniparaj—and the orthodox Brahmanical adherents of Bhavani, Mahalakshmi, Parvati, Ambaji, Kalika, Bahucharaji, etc. The first were to be shown as "Devi Bhakta" and the second under "Shakta".

(*vi*) Special care was to be taken of the record of Christian sects. Teachers and pastors among the converts were generally selected as enumerators and lists of the strength of the different mission organisations were prepared and obtained for testing the accuracy of the return. Each convert, it was arranged, was to

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be given a slip by their missionaries on which the name of his sect was to be shown and this was to be handed over to the enumerating staff. The inspecting staff were directed to pay special attention to this matter.

(*vii*) As to Piranas, the instruction was to show the name of the sect and add " Hindu " or " Muslim " before it, according as the individual person chose to be returned.

(*viii*) In the Abstraction stage it was laid down that where column 4 was blank (which was as a matter of fact a very rare event) it was to be filled in with reference to the name and caste of the person concerned ; as to Indian Christians, if the sect was not shown, it was to be inferred from that of the mission at work in the neighbourhood. In difficult cases, local enquiries were to be made.

363. Basis of the Figures—Before the analysis of the figures is taken in hand, it is necessary to understand exactly what is meant by the statement that there are so many Hindus, so many Muslims, etc. Here we are confronted by the primary difficulty in the almost radical difference in outlook as represented by the difference in the connotation of the term " religion" on the one hand and its supposed synonym " dharma " on the other. The Indian word " dharma" covers the whole field of social conduct in all its wide relations. " Religion " only includes certain special departments of it, in so far as man's attitude is governed by his ideas as to God, future life and so on. Now, the census does not cover the whole sphere of conduct and in regard to religion, it does not care for minute differentiations of personal belief which are too endless for any practical use in demology. It is an attempt to record " religion in its communal aspect, merely distinguishing those who lay claim to one or other of the recognised sectional labels without looking too closely into the validity of their claims." Some religions like Islam and Christianity readily lend themselves to this labelling, as their doctrinal basis and cultural outlook, in spite of numerous sectarian differences under each, are fairly distinct enough for that purpose. But on the other hand with a system like Jainism on the one hand and the vast mass of amorphous tribal beliefs at the other end of the scale, there cannot be any escaping from the influence of circumambient Hinduism with which they are riddled. Even Islam is not without evident traces of this influence, for on the fringes of it, occur relatively small groups in which the forms and exercises of both religions are combined in an inextricable way. The main difficulty is Hinduism. It has as yet no clear-cut formulary of belief although the Pan-Hindu movement within recent years has done much to crystallise religious dogmas in a lucid manner. But its adaptability deprives it a great deal of synthesis and cohesion and its readiness to absorb the various animistic systems with which it has from time to time come into contact in the course of its long history has persuaded it to water its essential doctrines, prescribe a graduated system of ceremonial and thus help the evolution of a fluid process, by which beliefs and observances of lower class Hindus have tended continuously to mingle with tribal superstitions and even tribal magic in a manner which has so far defied scientific definition or analysis. If however Hinduism is difficult to define, the name " Hindu " is readily recognisable. The ignorant Talavia or Tadvi little knows, or cares, about the minutiæ of "puranokta" and "vedokta" rituals, but he would not be returned as a Muslim : so also the Depressed Classes in spite of their social disabilities in Gujarat, as acute as anywhere else, would never dream of entering any other than " Hindu " for their religion.

364. Religion as a Basis of Statistical Classification—These considerations lead one to think whether it is worth while retaining religion as a principle of distribution of census statistics. So far as customs of demological importance like marriage, seclusion of women, and such other data regarding occupations and even educational progress, etc., are concerned, their distribution by religion is not of such vital importance as by horizontal divisions into economic and social strata. Thus the difference between Hindu or Jain or even Sikh in all such matters does not afford any useful basis for analysis of variations. The greatest difficulty about a horizontal classification however is that there is no readily intelligible test which can be of general application to all-India and by which differentiations on the basis of social strata can be appraised and distinguished. If caste was not

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such a matter of controversy affecting materially the value of the return itself, it would have served as a more satisfactory basis, by a judicious distribution of the figures into broad groups, than Religion. Occupation would have offered another fairly satisfactory basis, had it not been for the fact that the statistics regarding it are so difficult to compile; the scheme is so intricate and inter-related that a differentiation by occupation is neither significant nor reliable. We saw while discussing figures of fertility that their distribution by occupations had failed to give satisfactory results. If it were possible to have an occupational scheme with major non-agricultural groups and a horizontal division of agriculturists based on size of holdings, etc., and to distribute demological figures according to these groups, perhaps valuable results could be obtained; but this would require additional columns to the schedule, and a revolutionary change in the Census Act itself, besides demanding from the census staff qualities of tact, discernment and accuracy, which are as yet unrealisable. Race, it is argued sometimes, would prove a more satisfactory substitute, but here again the great modern designations like Gujarati, Maharashtriya, Deccani, Bengali, Punjabi, etc., although they are acquiring a historic fixity and social significance all their own, are not helpful, in so far as the distinctive social attitude represented by each of these significations is still riddled by the cleavage of religion which governs such social practices as polygamy, prohibition of widow remarriage, early marriage, purdah, etc., these practices it must be remembered, affect population changes to a great extent, influencing statistics of civil condition, literacy, infirmities, etc. Finally, so long as the public attitude continues to be coloured by communal considerations, Religion will have to continue, however unsatisfactory it may be, as a basis of statistical classification.

365. Accuracy of the Return—The value of the figures under each head will be discussed later but in the meantime it will suffice to state that the general accuracy of the return cannot be doubted. For reasons mentioned later the figures for Hindu and Tribal are more accurate than in previous years. The record of Christians was carefully scrutinised with mission estimates and found correct. In the inspections at the last census, one or two cases came to my notice of Dhed converts being returned as Christians and these later on "reconverted" to "Hindu Ramanandi" by propagandist supervisors. These cases were sternly dealt with and the returns were at once corrected. In 1931, very special care was taken that no grounds for complaint on that score should exist. The returns for Jains and Muslims admit of little doubt. In respect of borderland sects (like the Pirana, Satpanthi, etc.,) no discretion was left with the enumerating staff at all. Similarly as to Tribal aborigines, at the abstraction stage the rule laid down—as decided in the Census Conference of January, 1931, —was that in the case of the Raniparaj in the settled areas, like Central Gujarat, they should be compiled as Hindu and in the forest tracts where their condition was more primitive, they should be shown as Tribal. But there was very little occasion to apply this rule. Everywhere, except in Songadh and Vyara, Hinduism had so firmly established itself that rarely adjustments were required. As to the returns of Hindus, although Hinduism is hard to define, it is easy enough to distinguish it from other religions.

366. General Statistics regarding Religious Distribution—The main religious distribution is as shown in the margin, in which a summary of the main proportionate figures is given from Subsidiary Table I. The proportion of Hindus has largely increased, and it is now over 88 per cent of the total population. Muslims and Jains have increased owing to natural causes; but the Christians and Parsis have declined slightly. The Aryas have grown more than fourfold, largely at the

Religion	Strength in 1931	Proportion per 10,000	Variation since 1921
Hindu	2,152,071	8,809	+ 23.5
(a) *Brahmanic*	*2,149,200*	*8,797*	+ *23.4*
(b) *Arya*	*2,801*	*12*	+ *334.2*
(c) *Brahmo*	*70*	....	+ *100.0*
Muslim	182,630	747	+ 12.5
Jain	48,408	198	+ 12.0
Tribal	44,890	184	— 72.5
Christian	7,262	30	— 2.1
Zoroastrian	7,127	29	— 5.3

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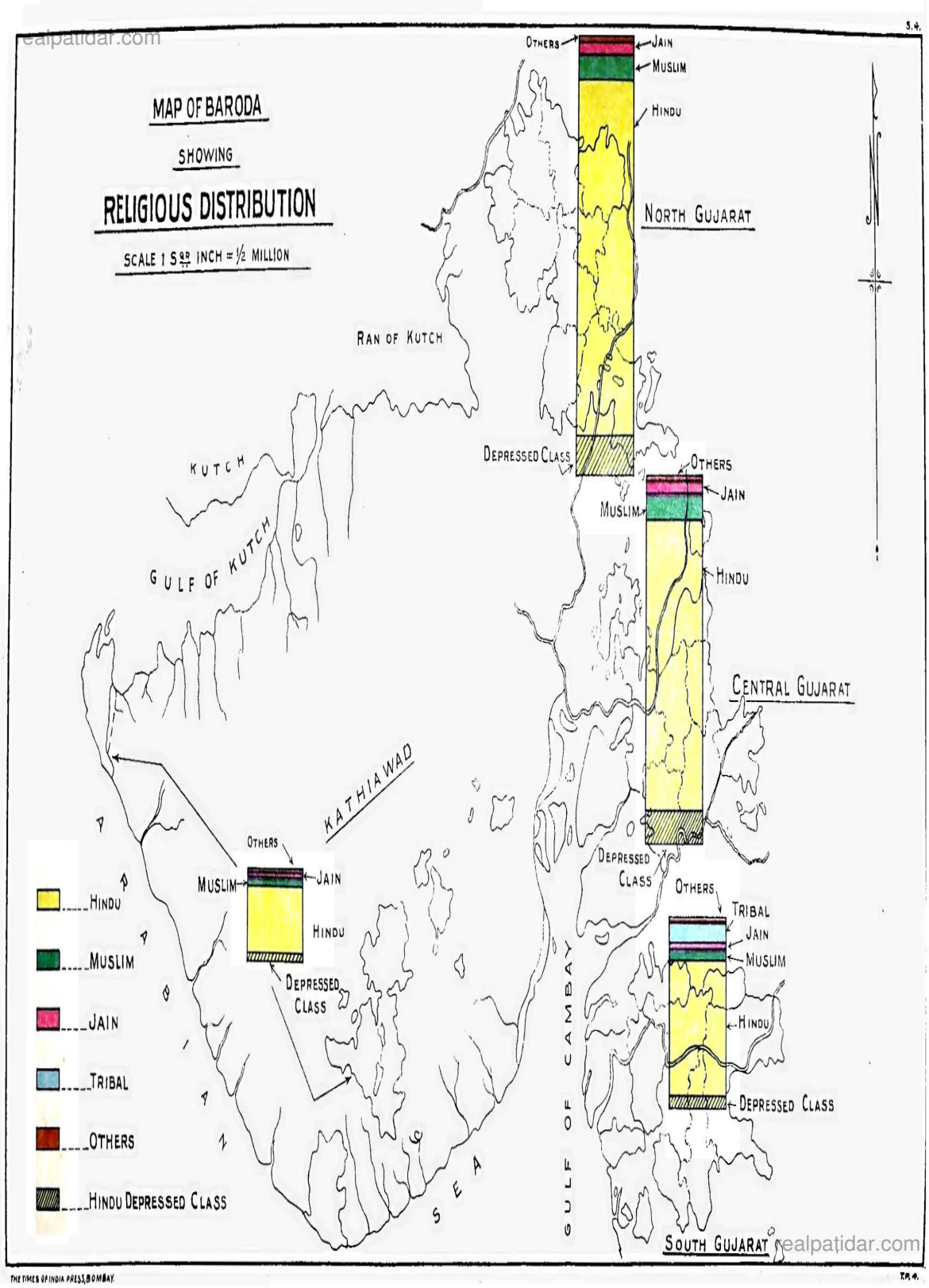

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expense of Christians. The Hindu rate of increase is double that of Musalmans. The Tribal religions have disappeared from the returns almost everywhere in the State, except in the two forest mahals of South Gujarat. The Brahmos are a small community almost limited to the capital and the Navsari taluka. Besides the above, there are 521 Sikhs, 55 Jews and 43 Buddhists. The Sikhs are almost entirely confined to the Camp, belonging to the British Indian regiment stationed there. The Jews are of the Bene-Israel community mostly found in the capital. The Buddhists owe their appearance in the returns almost entirely to the accident of a Japanese steamer having called at Port Okha on the census date.

367. Religion of Urban and Rural Population—Coming to the distribution of the figures by locality, the first point to notice is the relative prevalence of the different faiths in town and country. Subsidiary Table III gives the requisite proportions. It may be noticed that the proportions here are calculated on a different basis from Subsidiary Table II of Chapter II (*vide* para 61 *supra*). There the proportion of each religion found in towns was shown. Here the religious distribution in town and country is contrasted. Chapter II showed that Zoroastrians, Muslims and Jains—in the order stated—are the most urban of religions. This fact helps us to understand the inset figures, which show that the religious distribution varies much in urban and rural areas: the towns contain double the proportion of Muslims and Jains in the general population, while the Tribal aborigines are hardly in evidence. Parsis are confined mostly to South Gujarat where their proportionate strength is four times as much as their ratio to the general population there. Urban Muslims are most concentrated in the Sea-coast areas, where they form 28 per cent of the town population, and in Kahnam where they are 21 per cent. Hindus are found to the greatest extent in Charotar and Chorashi towns where they form nearly 83 and 87 per cent respectively. The Jain proportion is largest in Mehsana *prant* towns and in the Vakal tract in Baroda. The Tribal religions form only 2 per mille of the town population, and in rural areas, they are confined, as stated already, to the Rani mahals, where they form 40 per cent. Except these mahals, everywhere else in the villages, Hindus dominate the figures.

Religion	Proportion of urban population (per 100)	Proportion in the general population (per 100)
Hindu	78.7	88
Muslim	15.6	7
Tribal	0.2	2
Jain	3.9	2
Parsi	1.1	1
Christian	0.5	

368. Number and Distribution: *Hindu*—Subsidiary Table I gives the main details by locality. Hindus everywhere are predominant; and the range is fairly uniform from 778 per mille in Okhamandal to 911 in North Gujarat. In Baroda City, their strength is 791. In South Gujarat, where the Tribal religions occur, the Hindus claim four-fifths of the population. Everywhere else, they constitute at least 900 per mille.

Muslim—They are only 75 per mille in the State, but Okhamandal with 215 per mille and the City with 164 show the largest proportions of adherents of Islam. In North Gujarat the Muslim ratio (61) is the least.

Jain—These constitute only 20 per mille in the State, but in North Gujarat, where over 58 per cent of them are found, their proportion goes up to 28. Of the City population, 23 per mille are Jains. In Okhamandal they are least in evidence with only 4 per mille.

Tribal and other—The aboriginal religions are only confined to South Gujarat, where they form 111 per mille of the population. Even here, they are mostly concentrated in Rani mahals. Nearly 85 per cent of Christians are found in Central Gujarat and the City. About one-eighth of the converts reside in South Gujarat. Christians form 11 per mille of the City population. Nearly 90 per cent of Parsis are in South Gujarat, where they form 16 per mille.

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A map is attached facing this page which illustrates the distribution in the different divisions. It shows also under Hinduism the proportion of the depressed classes. As to what are included under such classes, the reader is referred to the next chapter.

369. Variations in the Different Religions: Study of Absolute Figures—We can discuss the variations by absolute figures and then by proportionate figures. Subsidiary Table I works out both ways for four decades and five censuses. Taking the dominant religion first, we should expect that the variations in it should conform to the movement in the general population. But on the other hand there is little correspondence. As Hinduism did not formally accept converts (until recent years) the increase or decrease amongst them has been hitherto largely due to the caprice of the enumerating staff who converted the tribal aborigines to Hinduism, or reverted them back to their primitive faiths, much as they themselves willed. Wide discretion in the past was left to them as to whom they should include as Hindu. Elaborate tests were laid down, which because of their very elaborateness crumbled at the least touch of practicality. It was because of this capricious fluctuation in figures that the late Mr. Sedgwick in the 1921 Bombay Report advised, as a sheer counsel of despair, that the class of Animists should be abolished and their figures included under the Hindu total. This would have been unscientific as it would have really obscured the essential differences between Hinduism and Tribal beliefs. But since then, the influence of modern ideas has so ordered the march of events that Hinduism has now become amenable to definition; something like a creed can be now formulated for it, and its religious organisation has improved and acquired a missionary character, which in this State at any rate has brought about a real change in the figures. It has been well said that although Hinduism is doomed to die, it is determined to live. The practically wholesale absorption into its ranks of tribal aborigines almost everywhere, except in the two mahals of Songadh and Vyara, is the most conspicuous feature of this year's religious census. The enumerators were specially enjoined to take down whatever religion was returned and to use as little discretion as possible, and that too only where, in regard to such of the forest tribes as were too ignorant to state their faith, their caste or tribe names were to be written in the column of religion. In 1921, some discretion was left to the enumerators to find out whether these persons really knew anything of Hinduism. This discretion was left on this occasion to the compilation stage, but as pointed out already very few adjustments were really required, as these tribes themselves had been sufficiently prepared through sustained propaganda to enter "Hinduism" in the returns. In Central and South Gujarat this Hinduising movement was reinforced on the one hand by the political movement having its centre in Bardoli, and on the other, by a genuine desire amongst the tribes themselves to give up their rude divinities for the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. This latter movement is of old date, but in 1922-23, the *Mata* revival with its astonishing, though somewhat transient, developments, gave significant force to this Hinduising wave. The widespread changes in social habits, which resulted, will be studied elsewhere in this Report, but in the meanwhile, it is sufficient to state that the movement had a permanent effect on the religious attitude of these tribes and to conclude that the true Animist strength is not very much more than the figure of Tribal as disclosed in the census.

Decade	Variation amongst Hindus	Variation in population changes
1891-1901	—27.63	—19.15
1901-1911	+ 9.74	+ 4.1
1911-1921	+ 2.6	+ 4.6
1921-1931	+23.48	+14.9

370. Variations in Hindu and Tribal—The above considerations would only justify us to regard the increase of 23.5 per cent in the Hindu total as real, but for the sake of comparison with previous censuses, the figures of Hindus and Tribals (formerly called Animists) should be taken together and their variations calculated. The margin does this and shows that there

Decade	Variations in Hindu and Tribal
1901-11 ..	+ 5.2
1911-21 ..	+ 5.2
1921-31 ..	+15.3

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is great similarity between these variations and population changes, although the rate of increase amongst Hindu and Tribal sections taken together is a little higher than the general rate of movement. If we exclude from the Hindu and Tribal totals of 1931, the figures of *hijratis*, the rate of variations is reduced from 15.3 to 13.9 per cent. If the aborigines (both Hindu and Tribal sections) are excluded from the Hindu totals, the rate of increase is 14.4 per cent.

371. Variations in the Strength of Tribal Hindus estimated—The Raniparaj consists of eighteen tribes. These number 312,051 in this census. In the 1921 Census Report, an attempt was made to estimate the real strength of Hinduism amongst the Raniparaj aborigines. Two tests were employed. First was that as soon as a Raniparaj tribe began to claim Rajput descent and acquired all the incidents of a Hindu caste, Hinduism may be said to have become an active influence. The second test, *i.e.*, the test of language as a criterion of Hinduism is however proved to be not very satisfactory (*vide* Chapter X). It was held that as soon as a tribe had become sufficiently Hinduised, it began to abandon the tribal language. This is not true so far as Chodhras, Bavchas, Vasawas, Dhodias and Central Gujarat Bhils are concerned. They have stuck tenaciously to their languages and yet Hinduism has become an intenser force with them than ever before. So language fails as an adequate test. But as the reverse proposition is not true, namely that in proportion as a tribe adopts Gujarati it forsakes Hinduism, the language test helps to fix the minimum strength of Hindus amongst the Raniparaj. The estimates for 1911 and 1921 were calculated in the last Report and are given in the margin. For 1931 the calculation must proceed on the known fact that Central Gujarat sections of these tribes have gone over bodily to Hinduism and that in South Gujarat, Chodhras and Dhodias, although showing great attachment to their own dialects are predominantly Hindus. The Raniparaj are divided accordingly into two broad divisions—(*i*) those who have wholly given up their old dialects and adopted Gujarati or Marathi and (*ii*) those who have only partly done so. The strength of the first is 89,733 (*vide* para 342 *supra*) and of the second is 222,318. Of these latter, only 41,934 speak Gujarati and Marathi. Thus 89,733+41,934 give the minimum strength of Hinduism amongst the tribes, which is 131,667. Add to this the figures of Bavchas, Chodhras and Dhodias, and the speakers of Bhil dialects in Central Gujarat and we get 229,920 as the estimate on the basis of the above tests of Tribal Hindus. These estimates form a better basis than the census for gauging the actual rate of absorption of these tribes by Hinduism. As the margin shows, although the strength of the tribes grew in 1911-21 by nearly 5 per cent, the Hindu section increased by over three times as much. In the latest decade, their numbers have grown by over four times the general rate of increase amongst the Raniparaj. The strength of aboriginal beliefs has declined proportionately since 1911; the last census showed that they were wiped out in certain areas and are now surviving only in their forest fastnesses. The census return of Tribals is only about half of the above estimate: showing that the process of absorption is even more complete than the tests worked upon as above would indicate. If the estimates made above are accepted, then allowing for the general rate of variation of 20.7 per cent to operate, the number of Tribal aborigines should have become 167,284 in 1931, but instead it is only 82,131; thus 85,153, or nearly 30 per cent of the mean strength of the Raniparaj in the decade passed over to Hinduism since 1921. If we accept the return of Tribals in 1931 as approximately correct, as I myself am inclined to do, then on the basis of our above estimate for 1921, the number of aborigines claimed by Hindus during the last ten years, would rise to 122,394 or nearly 43 per cent.

Year	Estimate of Raniparaj Hindus according to the tests laid down	
	Raniparaj Hindu	Raniparaj Tribal
1911 ..	104,685	142,241
1921 ..	119,935	138,512
1931 ..	229,920	82,131

Decade	Variation per cent among		
	Tribal Hindus	Tribal Aborigines	Total Tribal strength
1911-21	+14.6	— 2.6	+ 4.6
1921-31	+91.9	—40.7	+20.7

372. Variation amongst Muslims—The variations amongst Muslims are little affected by any inaccuracy of record and are therefore governed by real causes. The Muslims shared in the general decrease in 1901, but their decline in 1911 was particularly put down to the effect of migration in South Gujarat. In the

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Decade	Variation per cent among	
	Muslim	General population
1891-1901	—12.6	—19.15
1901-1911	— 2.5	+ 4.1
1911-1921	+ 0.9	+ 4.6
1921-1931	+12.5	+14.9

decade that followed, the Muslim strength remained stationary, their adult population—particularly in the City being thinned down by the joint influence of emigration and also of the epidemics of influenza and plague that harried the period. In the last decade the increase amongst Muslims has been due to natural causes. The extra Indian migration more or less stopped : the community on the other hand received many accessions to its strength in the last ten years through the repatriation of thousands of their compatriots who had settled in South Africa. The Muslims received hardly any adventitious aid from the *hijrati* factor. There is little doubt also that the Muslim gain through conversion is practically nil. The rate of increase therefore is less than the general rate and far less than amongst Hindus.

373. Variations in other Religions—The variations amongst Jains also are an accurate record of real movement. There is no reason to suppose that Jains wish to pass off as Hindus. As a commercial community they enjoy a high status, but in social observances they are indistinguishable from Vanias of the Hindu persuasion. The return at least for the last three censuses has encountered no difficulty. There was no Vania returned who had left the column of religion blank. There were also no Jains found who had left the caste column unspecified. They are an educated community and particulars about them could be readily compiled. This community has suffered until the latest census through emigration. In 1921, the figures should have shown an increase, but for the fact that in 1911 there was a large gathering of Jains at Gandevi on the census day and the Jain total for that census was unduly swollen on that account. The decrease in 1911, which was heavy, was put down to emigration. The increase amongst Jains in 1931 is 12 per cent and is due to gain through migration (probably owing to the factor of the returned emigrant) and to natural causes. The Parsis increased slightly in 1901, but since then have consistently declined. Their rate of natural increase is generally lower than in other religions as their families are usually small sized ; and the Navsari Parsi emigrates as soon as he is able to earn a living. The Aryas have an active mission in the City and their alliance with the Hindu Sabha has helped them in winning converts by hundreds from the Christian fold and stemming effectively the tide of Muslim conversion in Gujarat. The actual decline amongst the Christians is 159 but if they had the advantage of the same rate of natural increase as the others, the Christian total in 1931 should have been 8,334 or an increase of 913. Thus, the real decline is 1,072. The Aryas during the same period have increased from 645 to 2,801. I am inclined, therefore, to attribute half at least of the gain amongst Aryas to re-conversion amongst Indian Christians in the State.

Decade	Variation per cent among			
	Jain	Parsi	Christian	General population
1891-1901 ..	— 4.1	+ 2.5	+ 1,090.6	— 19.15
1901-1911 ..	—10.0	— 5.4	— 6.4	+ 4.1
1911-1921 ..	— 0.5	— 5.3	+ 3.0	+ 4.6
1921-1931 ..	+12.0	— 5.4	— 2.1	+ 14.9

374. Variations in Proportionate Figures—The above discussion has now prepared us for the study of changes in the religious distribution from census to census. The variations in the proportionate figures since 1891 are detailed in columns 3 to 7 of Subsidiary Table I. The figures are given there by natural divisions. The differing rates of variation in the religions when compared with

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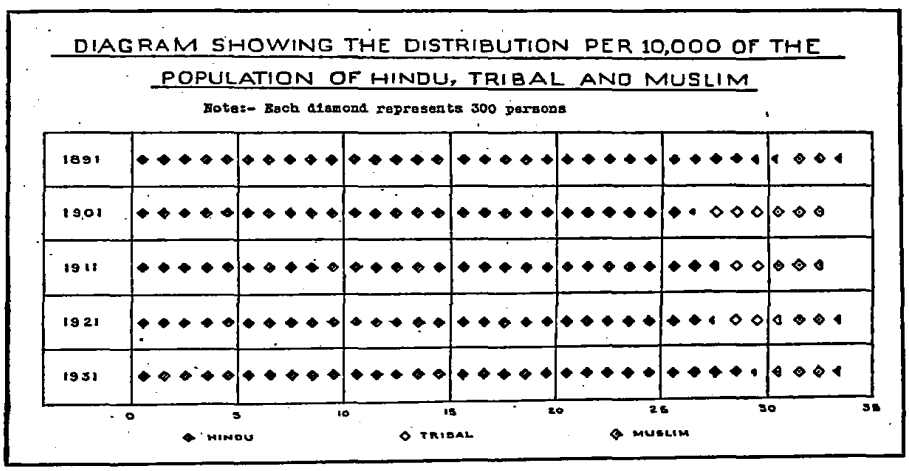
the general rate of variation give the clue to the changes in the religious distribution. Thus Muslims and, to a smaller extent, the Jains decreased less than the general population in 1901; that is why their position in the distribution improved in that year. In 1911, their decline in numbers accounted for their appreciable drop in their proportionate strength. In 1921, their practically stationary strength in absolute figures, while the population rose by nearly 5 per

Religion	Proportion per 10,000 of the population				
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Hindu	8,850	7,022	8,351	8,196	8,809
Tribal	184	767	568	903	124
Muslim	781	845	791	703	747
Jain	208	247	214	203	198



cent, helped to deteriorate their proportions still further. In the present census, the phenomenal increase amongst the Hindus has depressed still further the relative strength of the other groups.

375. Comparison with All-India Results—It will be interesting to compare the variations in the different religions in the State with all-India figures. Only the provisional totals are to hand but the all-India variations since 1921 help us to understand how far the factors of migration and re-conversion have influenced the State figures. The Hindu increase in this State is more than twice as large, showing that the gain from Tribal is larger here than in other parts of India. The Muslim rate of growth is the same in both cases, proving that the increase is unaffected by migration. The Jain gain here is nearly six times as large—industrial depression possibly has driven many Jain families back to their homes in the State, but perhaps the all-India figures are not quite complete. The Parsi figures are not complete, but even then it illustrates how much the community in this State suffers from emigration. The loss through this cause must be put down to at least 10 per cent.

Religion	Variation per cent since 1921 in	
	This State	India
Hindu	+ 23.5	+ 10.0
Tribal	— 72.5	— 26.9
Muslim	+ 12.5	+ 13.1
Jain	+ 12.0	+ 2.3
Christian	— 2.1	+ 25.4
Zoroastrian	— 5.3	+ 5.1

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§ 2. Distribution and Variation of Sects

376. The Sect Return : Its General Accuracy—Following the precedent of other years, this census undertook an elaborate record of sects. The general results are compiled in Imperial Table XVI-B and C and State Table XVII. The proportions regarding sects of Christians are set out in Subsidiary Table II and those in respect of Hindu sects for three censuses in Subsidiary Table IV. As pointed out in para 365 above, special care was taken in instructing the staff about the nature and name of sects, and in respect of Christian denominations, the co-operation of missionary bodies was freely sought to test the accuracy of the figures. As will be shown presently, the census figures make a fairly close approach to the truth.

377. Sects of Christians—We shall deal first with the figures relating to Christian sects. The American Methodist Episcopal Mission works in the City and the neighbouring talukas (Kahnam and Vakal) ; the Presbyterian mission and the Catholic propaganda vie with the Salvationists for the souls of Charotar ; while the American Church of the Brethren has confined itself to South Gujarat, amongst the Raniparaj. The Methodists have declined from 4,958 to 3,185. Perhaps, one reason of this decline is more accurate record in this year. There is reason to believe that most of the Presbyterians and all the Churches of the Brethren converts were wrongly included under the Methodist total in 1921. Another cause is the vigorous re-conversion propaganda of the Arya mission. A third reason is stated to be the attitude of the Home Board of the American Missionary Organisation to retrench in the matter of propaganda and to concentrate on the more efficient and faithful amongst the converts. Their finances having been curtailed, their work has consequently been reduced. On the other hand, the American Church of the Brethren in the Rani area has progressed. Their converts increased by 80 per cent from 498 to 897.

378. Relative Accuracy of the Christian Sect Return—All the missionary agencies were approached to furnish particulars, but the Catholics and Presbyterians could not give details, while the principal agency, the American Methodist Episcopalian mission, gave full details. Steps were taken to appoint Christian enumerators from these denominations so that no grounds for complaint could arise. As the above figures show the estimate of the Methodist mission is actually less than the census record while the Vyara mission in Rani claimed 460 converts more than the census figure. This point was enquired into through local officers and I have assured myself that this claim cannot stand.

Number of Sect	Locality	Number of Indian Christians according to	
		Census of 1931	Mission Estimate
Methodist Episcopalian.	Kahnam and Vakal ..	3,168	2,247
Church of the Brethren.	Rani and Semi-Rasti.	740	1,200,
Roman Catholic ..	Charotar	1,961	Not available
Presbyterian ..	Central Gujarat ..	213	Not available

379. Variations in the Number of Christians—Subsidiary Table II shows that Indian Christians really began to figure appreciably in the returns in 1901. In the two previous censuses, their number was well under a thousand, mostly concentrated in the capital and round about it. The famine of 1900 brought a goodly crop of " rice Christians", and the 1901 figure showed an increase of over 1,000 per cent. In 1911, the tide of conversion receded somewhat and 1921 saw a small increase. The present census has however registered a decline of 2 per cent, but it is more serious in Central Gujarat (13.8 per cent) than anywhere else. The Christian settlements in North Gujarat and Kathiawad are mostly railway employés and others in similar occupations. In the Southern portions of West Kadi, bordering on Viramgam, the Irish Presbyterian mission has begun some kind of activity without much success so far.

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380. Race, Caste and Tribe of Christians—Of the Christians, the Indians number 7,064 and Europeans and Anglo-Indians only 198. The Indian Christians by caste and race are distributed as in the margin. The largest number is returned under Indian Christian unspecified. The next largest total is under Vankar (1,519) who form over 21 per cent. Goanese and Feringhis are lumped under "Portuguese Indians" and are, therefore, rather larger in number than in 1921. Under "Unspecified" must have come large numbers of "Depressed Classes" converts, who did not return their castes. The families of converts, in the second and third generation, generally forget or wish to forget their caste of origin.

Name of Caste or Tribe	Strength in 1931		
	Persons	Male	Female
Bhangi	8	5	3
Chamar	82	50	32
Kanbi	11	9	2
Maratha	1	..	1
Pathan	7	4	3
Portuguese Indian ..	196	113	83
Primitive and Forest Tribes	538	328	210
Shenva	88	47	41
Turi	22	11	11
Vankar	1,519	810	709
Indian Christian Unspecified	4,592	2,358	2,234
Total ..	7,064	3,735	3,329

381. Sects of Hindus—Coming to the distribution of Hindus by sects, it may be said that except in respect of Devibhaktas there is no reason to complain about the relative accuracy of the results. In 1921, a scheme of classification of Hindu sects was adopted, according to which, a fairly comprehensive idea of their nature and of their relations *inter se* can be had. This scheme has been continued this year also. In the margin the main heads of this classification are shown with their strength and their variations in each since 1921. Some note on the changes in the classification should, however, be made here. Parnamis who were treated as a Guru-worshipping cult in 1921 have been transferred, on a closer review of its doctrines, to Class II. Satya Keval is now found to be another name for Kuber panth and is, therefore, transferred from Class II to III. Saji Sawai and Nakalanki now belong to Class V. With these changes, the proportions and variations in the marginal table have been worked out. Class I has quadrupled itself, owing to vigorous Arya proselytisation. Class II shows a large decline but this is apparent as large numbers of Bijapanthis have returned themselves as Ramade Pirs, and to that extent, the ranks of Guru-worshippers have swollen. It is important to remember that the Guru-worshipping cults are developments from the body of Pauranik and Vedic Hinduism and the only point where they differ from the particular branch from which they have broken away is round the personality of their founder whom they have deified so much that such deification has remained, to the exclusion of other doctrines, the most significant element of their ceremonial. Thus the Santram panth has grown out of the Shaiva cult. The Kuber panth is similarly a deflection from the Ramanuji system of Vaishnavism. So are the Gopinath panthis. The Ram Sanehi and Ravi Saheb sects are similarly outgrowths of the central Vaishnava doctrine. The orthodox sects—Shaivas, Vaishnavas and Shaktas—which form the great bulk of Hinduism have increased only by a little over three per cent. This is due largely to the fact that in 1921 by an arbitrary distinction 30 per cent of the believers in Shakti were shown as Shaktas and 70 per cent shown as Devibhaktas. Thus we obtained 84,988 Shaktas and 198,306 Devibhaktas. In the present census, a stricter and more accurate record as already mentioned, was insisted on. Only those worshipping the recognised goddesses of Pauranik Hinduism were recognised as Shaktas. That is why Shaktas have declined from 84,988 to only 53,133. It is also one of the reasons why the Devibhaktas have jumped from 198,306 to 510,038. The other and the chief reason however of this extraordinary rise is that the Hindus amongst the forest tribes have increased from 95,370 to 267,161, and all these unclassifiable Hindus have been grouped under the convenient name of Devibhaktas. It is proper, therefore, to exclude all Shaktas from the total of Class IV in the two censuses in order to get at the true rate of variation in this most important group of

Head of Classification	Strength in 1931	Percentage of total	Variation per cent since 1921 (+ or —)
(*i*) Movements of comprehensive reform	2,871	0.13	+300
(*ii*) Movements checked by defence of orthodoxy	110,157	5.12	— 36
(*iii*) Guru-worshipping cults ..	83,427	3.88	+407
(*iv*) Orthodox sects based on Vedic and Pauranic Hindusim ..	1,327,800	63.79	+ 3
(*v*) Sects on the borderland of Hindusim and Islam.. ..	15,586	0.72	+84.5
(*vi*) Sects tending towards Tribal beliefs	551,361	25.62	+159
(*vii*) Hindu unspecified, etc. ..	15,869	0.74	+552

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Hindus. After this is done, we find that the rate of increase rises a little but only up to 6 per cent. This is much lower than even the State average of natural increase ; and the main reason is that other sectaries notably Guru-worshipping cults have increased at the expense of the orthodox body. To a smaller extent, the element of " Hindu unspecified" which looms rather more largely in this census than in the last accounts for this slower rate of increase. A third reason for the slower rate of increase amongst the Vaishnavas and Shaivas is that their followers belong to relatively higher strata of society which propagate much less than the lower classes of Hindus.

§ 3. Certain Features of the Sect Return illustrative of religious tendencies

382. Proportionate Distribution of Main Heads since 1911—Having considered the variations in absolute figures, it will be useful to turn to proportions. It is interesting how year after year the Guru-worshipping cults are claiming more and more adherents from the main body of orthodox Hinduism. 39 per mille of Hindus belong to one or other of these groups. The main body of Vedic and Pauranic Hindus has declined by 1,251 per 10,000 in the last 10 years. Sects on the fringes of Islam have increased their proportionate strength a little. The vast body of Animistic Hindus (Class VI) have increased by 159 per cent. But this proportion is calculated on the 1921 Census figure of Tribal Hindus which we have rejected. We have calculated that something like a lakh and a quarter of aborigines have passed to the banner of Hinduism. Most of these are Devibhaktas and compiled in Class VI. The remainder of the increase under this head must be put down to the fact that the castes and tribes, generally given to the worship of the Mata of the indeterminate kind breed much more rapidly than more advanced social strata.

Class	Proportionate strength per 10,000 Hindus in		
	1931	1921	1911
I—Movements of comprehensive reform	13	4	4
II—Movements checked by defence of orthodoxy ..	512	988	1,270
III—Guru-worshipping sects	388	94	70
IV—Orthodox sects of Vedic and Pauranic Hinduism ..	6,379	7,630	7,299
V—Sects on the borderland of Islam and Hinduism ..	72	49	36
VI—Sects tending towards Tribal beliefs	2,562	1,221	1,265
VII—Hindu unspecified	74	14	56

383. Brahmos and Aryas—Certain of the sects require individual treatment. We have seen in the marginal table attached to the previous paragraph that Class I although small in numbers has increased by 300 per cent and advanced its proportionate strength from 4 in 1921 to 13 on the present occasion. This is almost entirely due to the vigour with which the Arya mission has developed its work, though the Brahmos also have increased their modest total form 35 to 70. The Aryas now number 2,801. Nearly three-fourths of them are found in Central Gujarat including the City. Navsari town is another large centre, but it is remarkable how the Arya mission has worked in particular rural centres like Itola, Ranoli, etc., and met with much success in re-converting the Christian convert, the Tribal Bhil and even the Muslim Koli. Their appeal is to nationalist sentiment and as representing the church militant of Hinduism, they prefer to work their reforms on the traditional plan. Very few Aryas of the State observe the reformed *anusthan* (rituals) of the *samaj*. Marriages are usually confined to their own castes and other ceremonials follow the orthodox pattern in most cases. The Arya Kumar Ashram in Kareli Bag in the City however works more on *anusthanic* lines and carries on regular services on the basis of the exalted ideals of the late Swami Dayanand, the founder of the movement. The Brahmos are confined to the City and Navsari town and a few other places. About nine families belong to it. No branch of the Calcutta organisation exists here nor is there a regular service. A joint theistic service with the Arya Samaj is however occasionally held in the City. In its own home, in Bengal, the Brahmo movement still retains something of its old vigour, although its eclectic attitude towards the great world religions seems to have led its present organisers to become lukewarm about increasing their numbers. But in its protest against orthodox Hinduism, it is still radical and thorough going, far more so than the Arya Samaj, as most of its members are *anusthanic, i.e.*, observing

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to the full, all the reformed ceremonials. The community, as Mr. Edward Thompson* points out, in its prime was and still is, "rich in intellect, and in artistic ability the most gifted group in the world." Generally the attitude of orthodox Hindus towards Brahmos and Aryas is changing. The Hindu Mahasabha has now made the definition of "Hindu" wide enough to include them; and on their part, Aryas and Brahmos have advanced eagerly to claim the Hindu name and share the benefits of its all-embracing organisation. The two reform sects have influenced profoundly the attitude of educated Hindus generally, in raising the age of marriage, the removal of *purdah*, the emancipation of women and all other matters of social reform, but their membership does not increase as fast as the spread of education would lead one to expect. Aryaism indeed has multiplied but their numbers are still infinitesimal and they have grown more at the expense of Christianity, aboriginal religion and even of Islam, than Hinduism. In fact as education advances, orthodoxy slackens its shackles and the liberal-minded Hindu does not have the same need of going out of his way and joining these reform organisations as before.

384. Vaishnava Sects—The four principal Vaishnava sects are Vallabhachari, Swaminarayan, Ramanandi and Ramanuji, of which the first two belong to the *classes* as opposed to the third which is a popular denomination to which the *masses* (including the bulk of the depressed classes) belong. The Ramanujan system, the earliest departure from the orthodox monistic position of Shankara, was founded in A. D. 1150 in South India and made a stronghold for itself in South Deccan. In Gujarat, its followers are confined to those Brahmans who are not Shaivas and the few Vanias who do not belong to the Swaminarayan or Vallabhachari sects. The Ramanuji Shri Vaishnava doctrine takes the earliest phase of Vaishnavism and in its conception of a personal monotheism may be said to make, next to Brahmoism and Arya Samaj, the closest approach to the Christian religious position. The Vallabhachari and Swaminarayan sects are based on Krishna worship. The Ramanandi system, started by a disciple of Ramanuj (A. D. 1300-1400), turns to the more austere and human figure of Ram as the pre-eminent *avtar* of Vishnu, insisting on virtue, mercy and charity. The decrease in Ramanujis is more apparent than real. Ramanuji is often mistaken for Ramanandi, as the former sect is not very well known in the State and the census staff are apt to confuse between the two. The decline therefore amongst the Ramanujis must be explained by the abnormal increase amongst the Ramanandis; judging from the figures of the previous censuses, and applying the general rate of Vaishnava increase, we should put the corrected figure for Ramanujis at the present time at 117,060. The deficit of 68,543 required to make up this total must be met from Ramanandis whose correct figure is therefore reduced to 516,100 which gives them 7.9 per cent as their true rate of variation. The Vallabhachari decrease is remarkable, being continuous since 1901. The adherents are all respectable and educated groups. The sect is very well known and there can be no doubt that its record is unambiguous and correct. The decrease is therefore real; as the castes from which its adherents are recruited are increasing in numbers, the decline in numbers of this sect must be put down largely to deflection to other denominations, as seen in the rise of the Swaminarayan sect—a relatively modern movement of dissidence dating from about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Swaminarayanis have gained in numbers, by about 33 per cent since 1911. They have also grown in wealth and importance. Part of the decrease amongst Vallabhacharis must be put down to the attitude of their younger sections who are indifferent to their doctrines and are apt to be rebellious against the influence of their high priests or *Maharajas*. The present movement of nationalism in Gujarat with its insistence on personality and idealisation of poverty and service has also had a great deal to do with turning men's minds away from the somewhat florid and colourful ritual of Vallabha's creed. "He took up the doctrine of *lila*" as an efflorescence from the Supreme Being, "and made of it a bright-hued and gorgeous ritual. 'If the human soul is identical with God'—said this Vaishnava prophet 'the practice of austerities must be discarded as directed against God and it is rather by a free indulgence of the natural appetites and the pleasures of life that man's

Sect	Number	Variation since 1921
Vallabhachari ..	153,818	— 3.4
Swaminarayan ..	71,246	+25.0
Ramanandi	584,643	+22.0
Ramanuji	45,813	—58.0
Vaishnava unspecified.	57,271	+10.2
All Vaishnavas ..	922,340	+ 7.4

Vallabhacharis	
Year	Variation with 1901 as 100
1901 ..	100
1911 ..	94
1921 ..	87
1931 ..	84

* In *An Indian Day*, page 36.

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love for God will best be shown.' * Thus the worship of Vishnu developed into an elaborate system of erotic theism concerning itself exclusively with the mythical incidents of the life of the infant Krishna (Bal Gopal) in Vrindavana. The doctrine of Bhakti was interpreted into absolute self-surrender to God and even to His earthly representatives. Much of the sexual license resulting therefrom has now happily disappeared through the influence of education."† The Swaminarayan was started as a kind of Puritan reaction against emotional excesses to which the Vallabhacharyan sect was prone. But their advance in wealth and social importance has weakened their original Puritan strictness of attitude in many matters.

385. Sects bordering on Islam—The Hindu and Muslim sections or Pir-worshipping sectaries together number 17,951 and have more than doubled themselves since 1911. The Hindu sects bordering on Islam have increased by nearly 85 per cent since 1921, while the Muslim Imamshahis have grown by 18 per cent only. The gain amongst the Hindu section must be to a certain extent discounted by the fact that the Matia Kanbis' total has risen from 431 to 3,530. This latter figure includes 2,920 *hijratis*, by excluding whom, the true rate of increase amongst the Satpanthis or Piranas is reduced to 50 per cent. Even then, the rate of increase is very high as compared to the Muslim section, whose figures are small and show a net increase of only 13 per cent in the last 20 years. Many Matia Kanbis have left the Pirana fold and gone over to Vaishnavism of the usual pattern or to Arya Samaj. Many prefer to call themselves "Hindu" Pirana. The tendency for these borderland sects to affiliate themselves to Hinduism is obviously on the increase and will result in the near future in the total absorption of these Piranas into the fold of Brahmanism. The recent decision of a Shankaracharya to exclude these Satpanthis from Hinduism was widely resented by these people; thereupon the Hindu Sabha not unnaturally took steps to repudiate promptly the Hindu divine's decision and to reclaim these *refusés* back to the Hindu fold. On the other hand, there was amongst the Pirs, one missionary of Islam, who achieved some notable success in the decade amongst his Hindu following, by which he helped to swell the numbers of the Hindu section of Pir-worshippers. In South Gujarat the success of Maulana Pir Motamiyan of Mangrol is noteworthy. He belongs to the famous Chistiya order of saints. The founder of his family in India was Baba Ferid (circa 1150 A. D.) of Ajudhan. The latter attained a foremost place in his time as a missionary of Islam and became the sole deputy of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmere. Baba's descendants came over to Gujarat about 400 years ago and established a religious seat at Mangrol (Navsari *prant*). The present occupant of the *gadi*, Pir Motamiyan III succeeded his inheritance in 1915. Educated in the modern learning, he worked with credit in Baroda and Sachin States, before he became the head of his order. The remarkable feature of his teachings is his endeavour to keep alive a real *entente* between Hindus and Muslims by insisting on a high reverence for the cow working on the basis of the underlying harmony between Islamic and Vedanta philosophies and allowing full liberty to his Hindu followers to retain their Hindu name and continue their old social relations. His non-insistence on a formal conversion in a large measure explains the increase in the numbers of Hindu *Satpanthis*. The Pir is credited with about a hundred thousand followers in Surat and Khandesh districts and Navsari *prant*. It is remarkable that this success has been achieved in spite of the frowns of Muslim orthodoxy.

Worshippers of Muslim Pirs and Saints	1931	1921	1911
Hindu	15,586	8,015	5,714
Muslim	2,365	2,001	2,102

In 1921, it was pointed out that Islamic reform concerned itself mainly with the removal of the taint of man-worship, caste system and idolatrous tendencies. "In Gujarat these tendencies are seen in the orthodox hostility towards Pirana sectaries, the growing desire for knowledge of Urdu and the anxiety to provide through its means religious instructions for Muslim children."‡ In the decade that was closed by the Census of 1931, these tendencies were deepened. The linguistic reactions have been already dealt with in the Chapter on Language. The restiveness amongst the Khojas against the personal authority of their religious head was seen in the development of the *masidia* movement in Kathiawad. The Ismailia Bohras in Sidhpur and elsewhere, were still under the rule of their Mullahs, but the stirrings of the younger section among them, so noticeable in Bombay City, against priestly domination and the administration of *wakfs* (religious trusts), were not without their echoes here. But the chief religious movement amongst Muslims in the State was the triumph of the reform party in 1924 in taking over

* *Vide* Article *Hinduism* by Dr. Julius Eggeling, Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XIII, page 510.

† Baroda Census Report of 1921, page 124.

‡ Baroda Census Report, 1921, page 135.

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the management under the guidance of the State authorities, of the Juma Masjid—a Shahi Mosque—under a committee of educated personnel, its renovation at a large expense, the increase of its income, and the spurring on to new life of its ancillary organisations like its library, boarding, etc. Much greater attention than hitherto began to be paid to the education of Muslim youths. All the Muslim organisations, also in the City and elsewhere, actively co-operated with the authorities, in keeping back communal bitterness from the State.

386. Sects among Jains—The sects of Jains were easy to compile. The three main groups are well-known; there was no reason to suppose falsification of returns. The element "sect unspecified" only forms about 2 per cent, as against 6.2 per cent amongst Vaishnavas, but this is more due to the carelessness of enumerators than to indifference of Jains themselves. The feature of the variations is the increase amongst the Sthanakwasis (the non-idolatrous Jains)—which is continuous since 1911, and the equally persistent decline amongst Digambaris. The Swetambaris are the predominant sect amongst the Jains and retain amongst its members, the bulk of the wealth and public enterprise of the community. The chief feature in Jain religious activity in the decade, apart from petty squabbles between *sanghvis** and anti-*sanghvis*, is the organisation of a campaign against the taking away of immature youths from the bosom of their families and initiating them to monasticism. Here is a cause of fission that goes straight back to the antique origins of the Jaina faith. In essence a monastic system, it has exalted renunciation as the perfect mode of conquest of the passions. Throughout its history, Jainism has carried with it the germs of this conflict between the monastic and the lay attitude towards life. In the last decade this conflict came again to a head and caused much bitterness and social disruption. On the one hand, the monastic case was well represented by Jain religious *munis*, notably Shri Ram Vijayji, who exalted the ascetic ideal, justifying the policy of recruiting *sadhus* and reinforcing their arguments by oratory of a very high order. On the other, the secular case was persistently brought before the public through an active press propaganda, in which the inevitable abuses with consequent disruption of family life were emphasised and brought home to the Jain community. The State has responded by bringing in a bill to remedy the abuses, which is before the public.

JAIN SECTS

Sect	Strength	Variation since 1921
All Jains	48,408	+12.0
Swetambari	39,350	+11.6
Digambari	3,487	— 4.7
Sthanakwasi	4,080	+32.8
Unspecified	891	+15.3

387. The Mata Movement†—Finally the special reactions of the Mata movement must be briefly referred to before this chapter is concluded. The ordinary features of aboriginal religion are recorded in the note on Primitive and Forest Tribes in the Caste Glossary (Appendix IX). The absorption of aborigines gradually into the Hindu religious organism in an old process, as stated already in para 369 above. The description of that process in Sir Edward Gait's Census Report of 1911 cannot be bettered and is here given :—

"An aboriginal tribe in an environment where Hindu influences are strong comes gradually and half unconsciously to adopt Hindu ideas and prejudices, to take part in Hindu festivals, to attend at Hindu temples and to pay a certain amount of homage to the Brahmans. Some degraded member of the priestly caste, or perhaps some Vaishnava Gosain in search of a livelihood, becomes their spiritual guide; and as time goes on, the difference between them and their Hindu neighbours, in respect of their social customs and outward religious observances, becomes less and less marked, until at last they are regarded by themselves and their neighbours as regular Hindus. The change takes place so slowly and insidiously that no one is conscious of it. There is no formal abandonment of one ritual for another. Sometimes it happens that a tribe is thus divided into two sections, the one Hinduized and the other still Animistic. In such cases open proselytisation often takes place amongst the unregenerate. The theory seems to be that the latter have lapsed from a higher state, and the Hinduized section of their community make no difficulty in admitting them after they have performed such ceremonies of purification as may be prescribed by their spiritual preceptors."

The *Mata* movement started in November 1922. The great curse amongst these primitive tribes is their addiction to drink. A certain amount of temperance propaganda had been carried on among them previous to 1922 actuated by genuine temperance motives on the part of the Raniparaj teachers and others who did not share in the vice of their fellow tribesmen.

* Those who lead and organise a pilgrimage to Jain Shrines.

† Abridged from notes supplied by me to Mr. P. W. Sergeant, for his *Ruler of Baroda, Chapter XXV.*

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This had provoked occasional counter-activity on the part of the liquor dealers, but no serious disturbance had occurred, the propaganda being largely futile from the point of view of temperance. In November 1922, an extraordinary change came over the Raniparaj people. An invasion of *gaulis*, religious zealots of the primitive revivalist type, came from Baglan (in Nasik) and swept through the Songadh taluka, a Bhil stronghold. At the start there was much crude magic in their ceremonies with the brandishing of the red cloth (*selu*) which symbolised the sweeping away of the old divinities. The *gauli* usually worked himself into a frenzy of excitement and by means of incantations, declared the complete extirpation of the old gods and goddesses. "There runs Sailibai" the *gauli* would shout "there goes Devlibai"; and in place of the banished deities the goddess Bhavani, a form of the *sakti* of Shiva, was installed. Her cult involved the observance of cleanly habits, abstinence from drink, and vegetarianism. In consequence the converts sold their poultry and sheep for a song, the profiteers, mostly Parsi or Vohra, reaping a rich harvest. From Songadh, the movement rapidly spread to Vyra and Mangrol everywhere destroying the drink pots, scattering the poultry and demolishing the old animistic images and gods. In Mahuva, the *gaulis* began to train up others in the practice of *dhun* (religious trance) in which condition, religious mandates were given and prophecies uttered. Here in Mahuva the Chodhras and Dhodias more educated than the rest, gave a more secular aspect to the movement. The pseudo-*gaulis* speaking Gujarati took the place of the Khandesh evangelists. Also temperance workers not belonging to the tribes began to take advantage of the movement about January 1923—when a large conference was held at Shekhpur in Mahuva taluka in which the movement was given a definitely agrarian turn; the class consciousness of the Raniparaj, against the Parsi liquor interest which had maltreated them in the past, was sought to be roused. In Rani and Semi-Rasti, there was almost complete cessation from drink for some months. Agitation became more and more secular and violent, but the religious interest was organised on a more permanent basis under Hindu influence. The whole of 1923 was occupied in this organisation. *Bhajan* meetings were held everywhere and became a regular feature of aboriginal life: attempts to give *diksha* to educated tribesmen were made and advantage was taken of the anti-drink movement to introduce changes in food, dress, habits, etc. While the anti-drink fury and the class-war subsided, as they were bound to do, these changes in religion and social attitude have persisted and tended to become permanent. The ritual observances of higher class Hindus began to be copied and Brahman priests came to take an interest in these matters and assist in the domestic ceremonies. The tribal organisation in respect of Dhodias and Chodhras was re-shaped according to the Hindu pattern. Hypergamy established itself amongst Chokapura Chodhras and Chuvani Vasawas. Claims to Rajput descent became more clamorous and insistent. And the local Arya Samaj fanned the flame by investing some of the "Bhil Kshatriyas" with the sacred thread.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—General Distribution of Population by Religion

Religion and Locality	Actual No. in 1931	Proportion per 10,000 of the Population					Variation per cent Increase (+) or Decrease (—)				Net Variation 1891–1931
		1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1921–31	1911–21	1901–11	1891–1901	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Hindu											
Baroda State ..	*2,152,071*	*8,309*	*8,196*	*8,351*	*7,922*	*8,850*	*+ 23.43*	*+ 2.60*	*+ 9.74*	*— 27.63*	*+ .68*
Central Gujarat ..	640,604	9,004	8,690	8,409	8,202	8,879	+ 20.29	+ 7.78	+ 11.49	— 30.20	+ 2.98
Baroda City ..	89,320	7,915	7,964	7,891	7,783	7,897	+ 18.42	— 3.78	— 2.96	— 12.13	— 2.84
North Gujarat ..	920,241	9,112	9,089	9,035	8,939	9,055	+ 12.41	+ 8.83	+ 0.81	— 25.00	— 7.50
South Gujarat ..	322,922	7,986	4,714	6,479	4,215	8,518	+101.30	— 26.19	+ 71.65	— 53.47	+ 18.08
Kathiawad ..	178,984	8,762	8,821	8,736	8,662	8,686	+ 14.86	+ 0.06	+ 3.67	— 4.08	+ 14.31
Amreli ..	155,400	8,934	8,909	8,877	8,810	Separate	+ 14.34	+ .1	+ 5.41	Separate	Separate
Okhamandal ..	23,584	7,775	8,144	7,861	7,868	figures are not available	+ 18.33	— .2	— 7.07	figures are not available	figures are not available
Muslim											
Baroda State ..	*182,630*	*747*	*763*	*791*	*845*	*781*	*+ 12.51*	*+ .9*	*— 2.50*	*— 12.57*	*— 3.24*
Central Gujarat ..	55,528	780	831	834	840	774	+ 9.00	+ 4.0	+ 7.94	— 16.29	+ 2.44
Baroda City ..	18,549	1,643	1,604	1,732	1,809	1,793	+ 22.08	— 11.7	— 8.33	— 10.11	— 11.16
North Gujarat ..	61,255	606	608	632	667	625	+ 11.86	+ 4.1	— 5.49	— 18.05	— 10.77
South Gujarat ..	26,113	646	670	692	847	759	+ 14.44	— 1.7	— 8.82	+ 4.93	+ 7.64
Kathiawad ..	21,185	1,037	1,045	1,061	1,140	1,151	+ 13.82	— 1.5	— 4.08	— 4.08	+ 2.14
Amreli ..	14,664	843	864	893	967	Separate	+ 11.18	— 3.3	— 3.40	Separate	Separate
Okhamandal ..	6,521	2,150	2,129	2,072	2,069	figures are not available	+ 20.22	+ 3.0	— 6.81	figures are not available	figures are not available
Jain											
Baroda State ..	*48,408*	*198*	*203*	*214*	*247*	*208*	*+ 11.99*	*— .5*	*— 10.0*	*— 4.06*	*— 3.82*
Central Gujarat ..	10,344	145	137	136	160	127	+ 23.17	+ 4.9	— 7.46	— 3.11	+ 15.86
Baroda City ..	2,639	234	242	222	218	213	+ 14.94	+ 4.0	— 2.56	— 8.44	+ 6.63
North Gujarat ..	28,264	280	296	324	376	309	+ 5.97	— 1.1	— 14.19	— 7.33	— 16.64
South Gujarat ..	1,381	79	71	83	89	68	+ 31.34	— 12.6	+ 3.24	+ 23.05	+ 45.78
Kathiawad ..	3,980	195	193	197	188	158	+ 15.83	— 2.2	+ 7.56	+ 15.04	+ 40.14
Amreli ..	3,862	222	219	220	213	Separate	+ 15.49	— .6	+ 8.34	Separate	Separate
Okhamandal ..	118	39	36	59	59	figures are not available	+ 28.26	— 38.7	— 7.41	figures are not available	figures are not available
Tribal Religion											
Baroda State ..	*44,890*	*184*	*767*	*568*	*903*	*124*	*— 72.47*	*+ 41.3*	*— 34.52*	*+490.37*	*+ 50.36*
Central Gujarat ..	..	..	247	516	670	217	—100.00	— 50.1	— 16.21	+137.69	— 100.0
Baroda City ..	..	..	12	20	51	1	—100.00	— 41.2	— 62.45	+5,788.89	— 100.0
North Gujarat ..	..	..	3	..	17	11	—100.00	+26,200.0	— 99.93	+ 19.21	— 100.0
South Gujarat ..	44,890	1,110	4,332	2,530	4,595	421	— 69.56	+ 73.7	— 38.50	+ 927.04	+234.00
Kathiawad ..	..	..	7	..	5	..	—100.00	....	—100.00	....	....
Amreli ..	..	..	8	..	6	Separate	—100.00	....	—100.00	Separate	Separate
Okhamandal ..	..	..	..	..	..	figures are not available	....	....	....	figures are not available	figures are not available
Christian											
Baroda State ..	*7,262*	*30*	*35*	*35*	*39*	*3*	*— 2.14*	*+ 3.0*	*— 6. 35*	*+1,090.56*	*+1,024.15*
Central Gujarat ..	4,878	69	92	103	126	1	— 13.82	— 6.3	— 11.06	+11,812.28	+8,457.9
Baroda City ..	1,264	111	111	76	75	43	+ 20.61	+ 40.1	— 3.36	— 53.57	+150.79
North Gujarat ..	173	2	2	4	..	..	— 7.49	— 46.3	+1,350.0	— 50. 0	+260.42
South Gujarat ..	897	22	15	2	1	1	+ 80.12	+730.0	+ 39.53	+ 79.17	+3,637.50
Kathiawad ..	50	2	2	..	4	1	+ 78.57	+250.0	— 86.67	+361.54	+284.61
Amreli	..	..	..	..	3	Separate	—100. 0	....	— 97.96	Separate	Separate
Okhamandal ..	50	16	11	3	4	figures are not available	+ 85.18	+285.7	— 36.36	figures are not available	figures are not available
Zoroastrian											
Baroda State ..	*7,127*	*29*	*35*	*39*	*43*	*34*	*— 5.35*	*— 5.3*	*— 5.40*	*+ 2.47*	*— 13.15*
Central Gujarat ..	89	1	2	2	2	2	— 28.23	+ 13.8	+ 3.81	— 23.91	— 55.06
Baroda City ..	593	53	61	56	57	50	+ 3.31	+ 2.3	— 5.87	+ 2.41	+ 1.89
North Gujarat ..	49	..	1	1	1	..	— 12.50	— 27.3	— 22.22	+167.57	+ 32.43
South Gujarat ..	6,371	157	199	214	252	233	— 5.77	— 5.8	— 5.40	+ 2.04	— 14.29
Kathiawad ..	25	1	1	2	1	1	+ 66.67	— 48.3	+ 45.0	+ 66.67	+108.33
Amreli ..	18	1	1	1	1	Separate	+ 20.20	— 6.2	— 20. 0	Separate	Separate
Okhamandal ..	7	2	..	5	..	figures are not available	+700. 0	—100.0	....	figures are not available	figures are not available
Other											
Baroda State ..	*619*	*3*	*1*	*2*	*1*	..	*+500.97*	*— 20.77*	*+182.61*	*— 8.00*	*+ 1,138.00*
Central Gujarat ..	38	1	1	..	..	..	+171.43	+ 16.67	+ 20.00	Separate figures are not available	
Baroda City ..	495	44	6	3	7	3	+816.67	+ 80.00	+ 50.00		
North Gujarat ..	25	..	1	4	..	..	— 10.70	+600.00	+300.00		
South Gujarat ..	3	..	..	..	..	..	+ 0.00	— 57.14	— 53.13		
Kathiawad ..	58	3	..	4	..	..	+1,833.33	— 94.80	....	Separate figures are not available	
Amreli ..	4	..	..	..	..	Separate	+100.00	....	Separate		
Okhamandal ..	54	18	..	..	..	figures are not available	+5,300.00	....	figures are not available		

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

Christians—Number and Variations

Natural Division	Actual Number of Christians in						Variation per cent					
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1921 to 1931	1911 to 1921	1901 to 1911	1891 to 1901	1881 to 1891	1881 to 1931
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Baroda State ..	7,262	7,421	7,203	7,691	646	771	— 2.14	+ 3.02	— 6.35	+ 1,090.56	— 16.21	+ 841.89
Baroda City ..	1,254	1,046	748	774	504	613	+ 20.61	+ 40.10	— 3.36	+ 53.57	— 17.78	+ 106.04
Central Gujarat ..	4,878	5,660	6,039	6,790	57	77	— 13.82	— 6.27	— 11.06	+ 11,812.28	— 25.97	+ 6,235.06
Kathiawad ..	50	28	8	60	13	24	+ 78.57	+ 250.0	— 86.67	+ 361.54	— 45.83	+ 108.33
North Gujarat ..	173	187	348	24	48	44	— 7.49	— 46.26	+ 1,350.0	— 50.0	+ 9.09	+ 293.18
South Gujarat ..	897	498	60	43	24	13	+ 80.12	+ 730.0	+ 39.53	+ 79.17	+ 84.62	+ 6,800.00

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Religion of Urban and Rural Population

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of Urban Population who are						
	Hindu	Muslim	Tribal	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Baroda State	**7,867**	**1,552**	**18**	**390**	**111**	**52**	**10**
Baroda City	7,914	1,643	..	234	53	112	44
Central Gujarat excluding City ..	8,184	1,385	..	340	5	84	2
Charotar	8,346	1,182	..	326	..	144	2
Vakal	8,339	1,019	..	624	9	9	..
Kahnam	7,450	2,083	..	431	11	20	5
Chorashi	8,660	1,266	..	57	11	6	..
North Gujarat	7,999	1,405	..	584	3	8	1
East Kadi	8,079	1,470	..	435	4	11	1
West Kadi	7,827	1,320	..	849	..	4	..
Trans-Sabarmati Area	8,110	1,109	..	775	6	..	..
South Gujarat	7,160	1,563	158	243	837	39	..
Rasti	7,067	1,696	31	231	951	24	..
Semi-Rasti	7,224	1,122	..	717	937	..	..
Rani	7,705	855	948	216	135	140	1
Kathiawad	7,344	2,291	..	357	4	2	2
Midblock	7,486	2,064	..	446	4	..	..
Scattered Area	7,477	1,136	..	1,387	..	..	..
Sea Coast Area	7,122	2,843	..	20	5	6	4

Natural Division	Number per 10,000 of Rural Population who are						
	Hindu	Muslim	Tribal	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian	Other
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Baroda State	**9,066**	**528**	**229**	**146**	**7**	**24**	..
Baroda City	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Central Gujarat excluding City ..	9,178	652	..	104	1	65	..
Charotar	9,139	559	..	145	..	157	..
Vakal	9,206	598	..	124	1	71	..
Kahnam	8,886	998	..	113	..	3	..
Chorashi	9,471	459	..	33	1	35	.. 1
North Gujarat	9,347	437	..	215	..	1	..
East Kadi	9,326	452	..	222	..	..	..
West Kadi	9,374	430	..	196	..	..	..
Trans-Sabarmati Area	9,393	368	..	239	..	..	..
South Gujarat	8,131	484	1,278	50	38	19	..
Rasti	9,289	618	8	55	28	2	..
Semi-Rasti	8,965	811	93	73	51	7	..
Rani	5,906	22	3,959	22	39	52	..
Kathiawad	9,202	648	..	145	..	2	3
Midblock	9,452	352	..	196	..	..	..
Scattered Area	9,521	255	..	222	..	..	2
Sea Coast Area	8,719	1,224	..	41	1	7	8

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

SECTS OF HINDUISM CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR NATURE

Class	Name of Sect	Strength in 1931	Variation per cent since 1921	Proportionate Strength per 10,000 in		
				1931	1921	1911
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	HINDU	**2,152,071**	**+ 23.42**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**
I	*Movements of Comprehensive Reform*	*2,871*	*+ 300.41*	*13*	*4*	*4*
	Arya Samaj including Veda Dharma	2,801	+ 312.51	13	4	4
	Brahmo Samaj including Prarthana Samaj	70	+ 84.21	..	..	..
II	*Movements checked by Defence of Orthodoxy*	*110,157*	*— 36.01*	*512*	*988*	*1,270*
	(a) *Recent*	*1,503*	*— 33.40*	*7*	*13*	*1*
	Radhaswami	698	+ 174.80	3	1	..
	Shreyas Sadhak Adhikari Varga	805	— 59.81	4	12	..
	(b) *Modern*	*108,654*	*— 36.04*	*505*	*975*	*1,269*
	Bij Panth	61,363	— 53.32	286	754	1,005
	Dadu Panth	2,188	+ 18.33	10	11	14
	Kabir Panth	32,737	+ 6.08	152	177	206
	Mota Panth	167	+ 14.38	1	1	1
	Nirat Panth	1,292	+ 183.95	6	3	..
	Parnami Panth	8,762	+ 75.80	41	28	40
	Uda Panth	2,145	+1,410.56	9	1	3
III	*Guru Worshipping Cults*	*83,427*	*+ 406.91*	*388*	*94*	*70*
	Bhabharam Panth	1,387	+ 21.66	6	7	6
	Gopinath Panth	7,172	+ 194.17	33	14	4
	Kuber Panth including Satya Kewal	12,349	+ 676.17	58	9	3
	Nanak Panth	105	..	1	..	..
	Ramade Pir	58,548	+ 443.72	273	61	50
	Ravi Saheb	1,685	+ 443.65	7	1	..
	Santram	2,181	+ 452.15	10	2	7
IV	*Orthodox Sectaries based on Vedic and Puranic Hinduism*	*1,372,800*	*+ 3.20*	*6,379*	*7,030*	*7,299*
	(a) Shaiva or Smarta	396,994	+ 2.95	1,845	2,213	2,064
	(b) Shakta	53,133	— 37.48	246	488	508
	(c) Vaishnava	922,340	+ 7.35	4,286	4,929	4,727
	Madhavachari	1,057	+ 225.23	5	2	1
	Radhavallabhi	8,492	+ 141.59	37	20	9
	Ramanandi	584,643	+ 22.24	2,715	2,744	2,560
	Ramanuji	45,813	— 58.00	212	625	619
	Swaminarayan	71,246	+ 24.99	321	327	316
	Vallabhachari	153,818	— 3.36	741	913	1,010
	Miscellaneous and Unspecified Vaishnavas	57,271	+ 10.24	255	298	212
	(d) Ganesh Panth	333	..	2	..	..
V	*Sects on the Borderland of Hinduism and Islam*	*15,586*	*+ 84.53*	*72*	*49*	*36*
	Ganj Pir	51	..	..	..	..
	Nayakaka	466	— 65.91	3	8	12
	Pirana Panth	14,528	+ 118.53	66	38	22
	Saji Sawai	186	— 43.63	1	2	2
	Sat Panthi including Nakalankis	355	+ 251.49	2	1	..
VI	*Sects tending towards Tribal Religions*	*551,361*	*+ 159.07*	*2,562*	*1,221*	*1,265*
	Ajepal	1,526	+ 670.70	7	1	1
	Devibhakta	510,038	+ 167.19	2,371	1,138	1,186
	Hari Bava, Tulsi Upasak and other degraded Vaishnavas	38,984	+ 175.73	181	81	76
	Khijadia Panth	813	+ 351.66	3	1	2
VII	*Hindu Unspecified and others*	*15,869*	*+ 551.70*	*74*	*14*	*66*

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CHAPTER XII

RACE, CASTE OR TRIBE

§ 1. General

388. Nature of the Caste Census—This final chapter of the Report will be devoted exclusively to the discussion of the returns of Race, Caste or Tribe. The full title of this chapter should be Race, Caste, Tribe or Nationality, but in the Indian Census, the term " Nationality " is reserved for persons of non-Indian races who belong to the nations of Europe and America, and these are so few in this State that it is not worth while retaining the full title. Race is a division of people into stocks, each with a common possession of similar physical characters which marks it off from the rest of mankind. " Tribe " would connote according to Dr. Haddon, " a group of a simple kind occupying a concentrated area," with a common dialect, a common social organisation but undeveloped and primitive in mental equipment and civilisation. " Caste " is a term special to Hindus and Jains : it is a system of segmentation of Hindu society into which, at different times and in various ways, more than one principle of division have entered and coalesced ; but in general four kinds of social distinctions may be recognized, following the Indian Census Report of 1911 :—

(*i*) the four traditional classes (or *varna*) into which the Manavan scheme reduced Hindu society, *viz.*, *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra* with a fifth (and modern) division of miscellaneous (and untouchable) *Sudras—viz.*, *asprishya Sudra ;*

(*ii*) the modern social groups based on a common traditional occupation,

(*iii*) the sub-castes or endogamous groups into which each main caste is subdivided, which are further subdivided into closely knit septs or brotherhoods, *e.g.*, gōl, bhag, etc. Thus the Audich Brahman sub-caste has two sections—Sahasra and Tolakia. The Nagar Brahman sub-caste has six subdivisions each having a priestly and non-priestly section—all exogamous to one another. Besides these, there are

(*iv*) the minor subdivisions or exogamous groups within each sub-caste, composed of persons with a reputed common ancestor, and between whom marriage is prohibited. These are the main distinctions of caste observed in present-day Hindu society, but so far as Gujarat is concerned, we see here such an infinite fragmentation of society that distinctions under class (*i*) have more or less lost their validity, and only classes (*ii*) and (*iii*) alone matter from the point of view of demography. As to class (*i*) of the four main divisions, the Brahman alone has remained as a class apart, the Kshatriya has lost its identity or rather has become identified with one or two dominant castes, and a variety of miscellaneous groups has claimed kinship with the name, with a view to bettering their status. The Vaishya name is also similarly identified with the Vania, a group of closely allied castes, connected pre-eminently with trade and commerce, which has given its distinctive tone to Gujarati society. But the Sudra has lost its antique significance, and the agrarian interests formerly associated with its name have now become so important in the social economy that the social gradations within them form indeed a new scheme of horizontal social grouping—a new network of caste within caste. Thus we see that caste, in different ways indeed from the principle of nationality, has subserved a similar function, namely it has brought together different people under one banner. The Gujarat Brahman for instance has traditionally 84 divisions, in their origins widely different from one another by language and social environment. Similarly the Gujarat Vania has 40 sub-castes—each a real caste dif-

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ferent from the others—and some recruited even from the Rajput and other stocks. Even the sections within each Vania sub-caste bear reminiscences of older ethnic divides. Then come the modern functional groups, the very important artisan caste amongst which the identity of the calling is an active principle of association. These are individually important enough for figures in each to be recorded and compiled. As to class (*iii*), there is the question whether all sub-castes are to be compiled.

389. Limitations of the Caste Return—It is obvious that castes grouped under the general names of Brahman and Vania are distinct enough from one another for their strength to be separately noted. The Depressed Classes comprising orders, the members of which are considered beyond the pale of Hindu society and contact with whom is considered a pollution to caste Hindus, are a definitely ascertainable unit (at least in this State) whose numbers, distribution and variation from census to census it is important to know. Again, there is the miscellaneous body of Hinduised aboriginals, who have been half absorbed in the body of Hindu communion, but whose tribal organisation has not yet completely adopted all the incidents of a Hindu caste. At the other end there are tribes, whose formation differs from a Hindu caste, although in faith, the members of the tribe may belong loosely to the Hindu religious system. Thus the Talabda has differentiation out of the great Koli race and become a typical Hindu caste, while the Bhil still remains a tribe. The different sections, tribes, or semi-castes, such as are conscious enough to be returned by a distinctive name, have also to be ascertained. Beyond these there are numerous small groups, which have little or no demographic value. Within the sub-castes themselves there are, as pointed out above, numerous sub-sections, individual numbers of which are too small or unimportant for compilation. In this respect the tendency of the Baroda Census has been to neglect from decade to decade more and more these infinite ramifications, and to concern itself mainly with the true castes, and with such only of the sub-castes as are really true castes themselves (*e.g.*, sub-castes of Brahmans and Vanias). The justification for this policy is that beyond the limited interest which these minute divisions, with which Gujarat society is riddled, have for their members, there is little demographic value in their tabulation for any scientific presentation of figures. In 1901 and 1911, the Baroda Census busied itself by setting out in details, the figures of sub-castes and septs of sub-castes in the State. In 1911 for instance 235 caste and sub-caste names were recorded of Hindus and Jains. No less than 65 of these were Brahman sub-castes and 22 were Vania. Besides, the above 207 sub-sections of sub-castes, were separately compiled in the Caste Table. In 1921 these sub-sections were generally dropped: sub-castes of Brahmans and Vanias and all other true caste names alone were compiled. In this census, only such castes have been tabulated as have a strength of one per mille of the population; certain other castes also have been included, that fall below this level and yet are of some local importance or are required for all-India purposes. Also all true Brahmans, all Vanias, all members of the so-called Depressed Classes and all members of the Tribes that are recognised to be Primitive and Forest have been included in the Caste Table. Although the total strength of Brahmans and Vanias was shown, the sub-castes in each of these groups, below the above minimum, have been neglected.

390. Reference to Statistics—The general caste return is shown in Imperial Table XVII. The variations since 1881 in the strength of the primitive and forest tribes have been shown in Imperial Table XVIII. The taluka figures of chief castes are compiled in State Table VII. The race and sect of Christians is shown in Imperial Table XVI-C and the territorial distribution of Europeans and Anglo-Indians is given in Imperial Table XIX. With these Tables this chapter is principally concerned. Past Census Reports of the State are full of much valuable material bearing on the ethnography of the local population. In 1911, a caste glossary based mainly on the materials contained in the Gujarat Population Volume of the Bombay Gazetteer of 1899-1901 (Volume IX—Parts I-II) was prepared. In 1921, when I wrote my first Report, I did not venture to recast this glossary mainly because I thought that a decade was too short a time to admit of social changes in the castes and tribes inhabiting this State. Since then, Mr. Euthoven's

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Tribes and Castes of the Bombay Presidency appeared in three volumes; and much new material has come to light through my own investigations and the reports of census committees and notes of honorary correspondents. These I have ventured to incorporate in the new and revised Caste Glossary which forms an appendix to this chapter. In this Glossary, in view of the new matter added, many unimportant entries have been taken out and the arrangement is revised on a more suitable plan. As this Glossary serves the purpose of an ethnographical survey on a small scale adequate enough for the reader of this Report, this chapter will be exclusively devoted to a statistical analysis of the figures, as to their local distribution and variations. As we have seen in the Chapters on Sex, Civil Condition, Infirmities, Occupation, Literacy and Language, caste has entered largely into our discussions. It forms an important criterion by which the above figures can be distributed and analysed.

391. Utility of the Return—That brings us to the consideration of the general utility of the caste return. It has been hitherto impugned on two grounds : from one side, Indian demographers have themselves doubted the utility of the return of the population by caste, "on the ground that the distribution of various castes and tribes changed only at large intervals and that it was not necessary to obtain figures at each decennial census." On the other hand, the caste return is attacked, because it has the effect of perpetuating—what is deemed to be undesirable—namely the system of caste differentiation, and secondly because the returns are worthless as the lower castes are always trying to pass off as something higher than what they are. It is true social changes do take longer than a decade to effect themselves. But then if caste is dropped, a return merely of religious distribution is too broad and colourless to be of any use either for economic or sociological analysis. On the other hand caste is vital and still excites the deepest interest in the Indian mind. The Hindu knows more about his caste than about his own sect or religion. One of the commonest type of mistakes in the sect return is where a Hindu, forgetting his sect, returns his caste name under religion. A Hindu Vaishnav would sooner call himself a Hindu Patidar or Hindu Vania than refer to his Vaishnavism. As we shall see presently, the number of those who have definitely abandoned caste even amongst Brahmos and Aryas—at least in Gujarat is so infinitesimal, that any demand for dropping the caste return cannot be taken seriously as representative of general public opinion. The demand for abandonment of the caste return however was renewed in this census more vigorously than before, and a number of names held in the highest respect in the country were associated with it. But it roused protests in many parts of this State, as elsewhere, and amongst certain sections, the untouchables and the like, the move was looked upon with suspicion, owing to the unfortunate myopia with which their outlook is coloured, and interpreted as a dodge on the part of the higher castes to minimise the strength of the submerged classes in the country. The Government of India, however, backed up by the census authorities, responded sympathetically to enlightened opinion in this regard. In his reply to the Secretary of the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal of Lahore of the 1st November 1930, the Joint Secretary to the Government of India stated the policy of the Government as follows :—

> "Though Government have every sympathy with the desire of the Mandal to abolish any anti-social features that may appear to the Mandal to be involved in the caste system, they do not consider that the mere fact of not stating caste in the census return will have any effect in the direction.
>
> "In the case of all persons who have actively ceased to conform to the caste system and who have accordingly broken it in their marital or commensal relations, but who do not belong to reforming or schismatic communities such as the Arya Samaj or the Sikhs or Jains, a return of *nil* will be both accurate and adequate and will be accepted by enumerators, particularly where they have personal knowledge of the accuracy of the householder's reply.
>
> "It is not possible to go further than this or to make a general dispensation from the necessity of returning caste in the case of people who observe it in practice, whatever their theoretic sympathetic inclinations, or to take any steps which will make it difficult for the Census Department to get from the general public, information desired for the general good and for the obtaining of accurate measurements of social progress."

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392. The State Attitude in regard to the Caste Return—We are in this State in full agreement with these sentiments and consider that the abandonment of the census return of caste in the present state of Gujarat social development is entirely premature. Wherever there was any desire on the part of any person not to record caste, enumerators were instructed not to press. Brahmos, Aryas and persons of similar persuasions who had avowedly abandoned caste were of course expressly exempted from the necessity of recording caste. The accuracy of the return will be appraised in the following paragraphs but in the meantime the experience of seven censuses in this State confirms the view that the caste return is one of the most accurate of all the census tables, and is far more reliable than age-statistics for instance, or the return of infirmities or occupations. Lastly caste figures have also an important economic bearing which is not always realised. In the absence of any accurate data of wage-levels or of earning power, caste through its reactions on the employments of the people does afford something like a horizontal scale—however rudimentary—from which we can derive some idea of social values in the different grades of the population. Besides the literacy scale on which castes have been divided in this Report into Advanced, Intermediate and Illiterate has helped us to understand many of the reactions of caste on such important social problems as fertility, marriage, infirmities, occupations and educational progress; for it cannot be doubted that caste in its broad groups is still of importance as representative of types of social environment; and figures relating to age, civil condition, occupation, etc., if presented by castes, show interesting correlations which are often the result of race, historical circumstances and the contrasted social attitudes prevailing in the different strata of society.

393. Nature of the Instructions—The Caste Tables with which we are now concerned were compiled from the entries in the census cards against column 8. The vernacular word "*nyat jat*" does admirably for the distinctions connoted in Caste and Race or Tribe—*peta nyat* stands for sub-caste. The instructions given to the enumerators were based on the Imperial Code (Chapter VII, page 38):

> "Enter here the name of the caste for Hindus and Jains; and after writing the name of caste, show also the name of the sub-caste, *e.g.*, Brahman-Audich; care should be taken to enter the true caste name. If any one states his occupation as the name of his caste, ask him further and ascertain whether the occupational name is a true caste designation. Avoid modern territorial names like 'Dakshini,' 'Bengali,' 'Pardeshi,' 'Marwadi,' 'Kathiawadi,' etc. Enquire what a person's true caste is, see if it is included in the alphabetical index of castes given to you and then enter the proper name. For Musalmans, write the true name of race, *e.g.*, Mughal, Saiyad, Pathan, Baluch, Pinjara, Vohra. For Buddhists and Christians, write race, *e.g.*, Indian Christian, Burmese, Buddhist, etc. For non-Indians, state their nationality, *e.g.*, Portuguese, Canadian, Turkish, etc. If persons return themselves as Anglo-Indians such should be entered. If Indian Christians state the tribe or caste to which they formerly belonged previous to conversion, such tribe or caste should be entered."

In addition to these instructions, every supervisor was supplied with a detailed index of caste names in which supplementary information was given about the different kinds of Muslims, the number of castes ascertained to belong to the depressed classes, the number and kind of primitive and forest tribes and certain other cautions which are necessary for a careful record. Along with a list of true caste names, a list of spurious caste names was also appended in which occupational names of recent coinage were shown, against which the enumerating staff was specially cautioned. As mentioned already a large proportion of Hindu castes are based on occupations which are of fairly old standing but more modern than the older four-fold functional divisions. These have definitely become castes and are recognised as such in the Hindu social system. There are other occupational groups however which are recent in formation and have not yet hardened into castes. These are therefore to be excluded from the table, *e.g.*, Kadia (house builders), Kagdi (stationery sellers), Kapadia (seller of clothes). These names may comprise members from different castes—even Brahmans—and may, and does, include Muslims and other non-Hindus.

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394. Accuracy of the Return—In view of the detailed instructions there was not much difficulty felt in the Abstraction Office in the compilation of the caste returns. Instructions regarding them have been modified and elaborated through successive censuses and the people themselves take an interest in seeing that the return is correct as far as possible. In Gujarat if anything is well known about a son of the soil, it is his caste. Caste organisation still exists as a living reality in the State, and there is comparatively less possibility, at least in regard to the higher castes, the agriculturists and the artisan groups, of anybody passing off as belonging to a caste not his own, than in other parts of India. The greatest difficulty, however, in the census of castes, is in respect of castes that are afflicted with social aspirations. There is the genuine variety of castes wishing to forget their past and to change their old names for new ones with less opprobrious associations, and otherwise trying to ape the customs of the socially superior groups. In regard to these, the census maintained an attitude of responsive sympathy. So long as any new name adopted did not cause any confusion, or prevent comparison with past figures, the Census readily agreed. Thus the Hajams were allowed to call themselves Valands or Nai Brahmans although they were excluded from the Brahman total; the Dheds were renamed Vankars; the Barias were separated from the Koli total but their claim to be considered Rajput was firmly turned down; and lastly the great agricultural communities, who seemed to dislike their old name of "Kanbi," were thereupon shown under Patidar in the Table. The Bhils were persuaded by certain propagandists to ask to be allowed to return themselves "Aryas," but as this was likely to cause confusion with genuine members of the Arya Samaj, this request was disallowed. The forest tribes in the vernacular census instructions used to be known as the Kaliparaj—"the black folk." But this was resented by the vocal sections of the tribes, and the name—given to them by Mr. Gandhi himself—of Raniparaj was adopted in the present census. Certain Muslim Piranas used to be known as Shaikhdas and it is believed that all of them returned themselves as "Shaikhs." Technically this was correct, as "Shaikh" is the generic term for all unclassifiable Muslims. But through these accretions, "Shaikh" lost its value as a race name of Arabic origin.

395. Caste Claims and how they were disposed of—The following Table collects all such cases wherein there was some move either from the whole caste, or from a section of it for new names or affiliations, and the action taken finally on each case is noted in the third column:

Old Name of Caste, Race or Tribe	Claim made to new names or affiliations	Final action taken
Anjana Kanbi	Claim was made to Rajput status. The name Kanbi was disliked. "Chaudhari" preferred.	Claim to Rajput status held not proven. "Kanbi" name was abolished—Anjana removed from general head of Patidars and shown under "Anjana Chaudhari" in the Table.
Antyaj : Dhed ..	Articulate sections of the depressed classes expressed occasional dissatisfaction with the Antyaj name. At the conference of 7-8 March 1931, some pressed to be called 'Arya,' but were dissuaded from carrying out their resolution when it was explained that "Arya" will cause confusion with genuine members of the Arya Samaj. 'Sramik' was another name suggested. It is curious that nobody thought of Mr. Gandhi's title for these classes—'Harijan'—which does not seem to have caught on locally. The predominant Antyaj caste was previously shown in Caste Tables as Dhed. Their leaders preferred "*Vankar*," as they thought "Dhed" had a derogatory meaning.	"Antyaj" is expressive and does not seem to have any special opprobrious signification but "Vankar" was used instead of Dhed as there was no chance of confusion.
Baria (Baraiya) ..	There was a large and genuine movement from Central Gujarat Baraiyas to be considered distinct from Kolis, and affiliated to the Rajput. Petitions were received from 32 villages signed by over 1,000 persons. Local enquiries confirmed the genuineness of their feeling. Similar agitation, but less intense, was observed in 1921. Representative Rajput Thakores and other Rajput organisations were asked whether they were prepared to consider Barias as belonging to them. They refused, but admitted having taken girls in marriage from them as from Makwanas and Talabdas. The "Padhiar" surname is genuinely Baria, and it occurs amongst Rajputs also.	Baria, Khant, Makwana and Talabda shown separate from Koli total. Their claim to Rajput status turned down, as the census was no forum for recording such decisions.

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Old Name of Caste, Race or Tribe	Claim made to new names or affiliations	Final action taken
Barot	Brahmabhats renewed their claims to be separated from Bhats or Barots.	As in 1921, they were shown separate in this census also. They were not included under Brahmans.
Bhil	Claim to be considered Kshatriyas was found only in a very limited section who were moved by Arya Samaj propaganda. They wished to be known as Arya.	They were allowed to return Bhil Kshatriya or simply Bhil but not 'Arya.'
Gandhrap	A section, Hindu by faith, stated that they had nothing to do with Gandhraps, but were a separate caste called Jagari.	As their numbers are very small, Jagaris were provisionally included under Gandhraps, but for the Caste Glossary, their numbers were specially sorted out and shown separately (*vide* under "Gandhrap"—Caste Glossary).
Hajam	Next to the Barias, the caste hitherto known as Hajam was most persistent. But there were two sections: both opposed to the Hajam name, but one preferring to call themselves Valand and owning to "barber"' as hereditary occupation and another, presumably Arya Samajist in leanings, wishing to be known as Nayee or Nai Brahman and claiming that haircutting and shaving were not their ancestral occupation. In North Gujarat, a largely signed petition signed by persons frankly calling themselves Hajams was received. But enquiries showed that the "Hajam" name was resented by the bulk of the Hindu barbers.	The word "Hajam" was removed from caste table for Hindus following the barber's profession, the Muslim section continuing to be shown as "Hajam". The Hindus were allowed to return either Valand or Nai Brahman as they chose.
Kalal	The Hindustani section wanted to be known as Kallar Kshatriya.	Shown under Kalal.
Kaliparaj	This name applied generally to Forest Tribes means "black folk" and was resented by them. The feeling was general. "Raniparaj" was more colourless and appropriate.	"Raniparaj" was adopted.
Kamalia	Wanted to be shown as Hindu	Those were shown as Hindu who said they were Hindus.
Kanbi	A section of the Kanbi caste who were co-sharers of the village land used to be known as Patidars. Now "Patidar" name is generally affected by all the Lewa and Kadwa castes and any attempt to distinguish between the Kanbi and Patidar sections was futile.	"Patidar" was substituted for "Kanbi" for Lewa and Kadwa castes. Anjanas were taken out so also Karadias from the list of Kanbis. Konkani and Maratha Kunbis were also shown separate. The miscellaneous Kanbis included Maru, Uda and Barad sections.
Karadia Kanbi ..	They wanted to be separated from Kanbis and shown under Rajputs.	The "Kanbi" name being abolished, Karadias were shown separately. They could not be included under Rajputs.
Luhar	"Panchal Brahman" was the new title affected by their Gnati Sudharak Mandal, in support of which they referred mysteriously to a judicial decision, which they were unable to produce.	The old name continued.
Machchhi	A section of them dwelling on the banks of the Tapti wanted to be known as Talabda Koli, who, they admitted, were unwilling for such intrusion.	The old name continued.
Mahar	A Bombay organisation applied to be shown under "Mayavanshi Rajput."	The affinities of depressed classes to the Rajput race have been pointed out in the Caste Glossary. But their inclusion under the Rajput total as a special section would have been misleading. Old name continued.

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Old Name of Caste, Race or Tribe	Claim made to new names or affiliations	Final action taken
Modh Ghanchi ..	The 1921 Report has reference to their claim to be considered as Modh Vanias, which was then turned down, but the claim was not formally renewed.	Nothing was done, but it is suspected individual members of this caste have passed off as Modh Vanias.
Salat	No formal claim was made, but some returned themselves as Sompuri Brahmans but they were included under Salat.	The old name continued.
Shaikhda	This caste of Hindu-Musalmans resented the old title as opprobrious and applied to be returned as Muslim Shaikhs.	Those who wanted the "Muslim Shaikh" name to be recorded were allowed to do so.
Sonar	The Deccani goldsmith caste have long claimed to be a variety of Brahmans—Daivadnya Brahmans and local representatives were returned as such.	The old name continued.
Sutar	Some Sutars were returned as Vishwakarma, after the name of their patron saint. Thus Vishwakarma was wrongly compiled as a sect in 1921. It is really a caste name.	The old name "Sutar" was continued, and "Vishwakarma" removed from list of sects.
Thakarda	A section calling themselves Thakarda Solanki, from Kadi taluka, wanted to be separated from Koli and shown under a distinct heading. On enquiry there was no reason to separate them from the general head of "Thakarda" and as they themselves were separated from the Kolis, nothing further was deemed necessary to be done.	The old name continued.

396. Parvenu Accretions—Apart from these genuine cases, the most difficult problem is to isolate from genuine entries the element of the surreptitious social climber. In all sections of the superior castes there are doubtful elements whose inclusion is always a matter of doubt. Amongst Brahmans and Vanias, the cross breed or *varnasankar*—variously known as Bārad, Pānchā, Bāj—is a distinct though unimportant element. The Rajput caste is again the favourite resort of many of these spurious cases. Quite a few Barias must have found room there as Padhiar Rajputs and this it was not possible to prevent at the compilation stage. Again large numbers of Patanwadias and other Kolis passed off as Barias. A few of the aspiring untouchables are apt to call themselves Kshatriyas or Rajputs. A few Dabgars, Sonis and Modh Ghanchis and such others of the prosperous artisan classes masqueraded as Vanias. The Patidar class, which is fast developing into a national caste, has similarly absorbed many non-descript elements—mostly recruits from Kathiawad. Amongst Musalmans, Pinjaras are rather given to calling themselves Pathans; Maleks and Kasbātis pass off as Shaikhs and in rural areas "Ghanchi" and "Vohra" have become often interchangeable. Occasionally, however, a caste like the Saiyad is jealously guarded and allows little chance of such unlawful entry. Even so, the clandestine entry of persons inferior in the social scale as Saiyads is not uncommon and could not be prevented. The transmogrification of a Quasab into a Saiyad, as he grew in affluence is enshrined in the Persian proverb: "Im sāl Qusāb budam pār sālo shaikhji arjan chuṇ gallā shebad Saiyad shawi."

§ 2. Statistical Analysis of the Return

397. General Results: Caste not Returned—These general considerations are necessary for the understanding of the Caste Tables properly. We will now take the general results and set them in order. First we shall study the phenomenon of "caste not returned", in order to see how far modern influences are operating in the direction of denial of caste. The general policy in this regard has been already stated. No one was really prevented from showing "nil" against caste if he so chose. Brahmos and Aryas and members of other schismatic sects which were based on the denial of caste were of course presumed to return no caste. Even in their case as the marginal table shows that the majority were prepared to indicate the castes to which they belonged, or at least the caste

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of their origin. It will be noticed also that under "Hindu" there are two classes shown —(1) caste not returned, *i.e.*, of genuine cases of protestant Hindus with whom caste observances had ceased to have a meaning and (2) caste unspecified, a large class, some of which may have belonged to number (1) but all owing their inclusion thereunder because they omitted to return their caste through inadvertence, ignorance or choice or because the enumerator was too careless to record their caste. Even the two classes together do not form more than 1 per mille of the total Hindu population. Of the two reform sects, only 14 per cent of Aryas and 23 of Brahmos did not record their caste through choice. 65 per cent of Indian Christians did not show the caste of their origin, possibly the bulk doing this through choice as they are drawn from depressed and other backward groups and are anxious to forget their origin. 4 per cent of Muslims do not show any caste or race to which they belong. These are perhaps the miscellaneous converts of comparatively recent date, who have not yet definitely affiliated themselves to any recognised Muslim group. In 1921 there were 2,376 Hindus of unspecified castes, 728 similarly placed Jains and 9,597 unclassed Muslims. The decrease in numbers in 1931 may be due to better record on the present occasion. At any rate the figures of both censuses are convincing enough to show the strength of the hold of caste on the population.

Religion	Number who have not specified caste			Proportion per mille of such religions
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Total Unspecified among Religions in which Caste occurred	**13,577**	**7,443**	**6,134**	**6**
Hindu				
I. Caste not returned ..	58	11	47	1
II. Caste unspecified ..	1,281	959	322	
Jain				
Unspecified	1	..	1	..
Hindu Arya				
Caste not returned	412	181	231	140
Hindu-Brahmo				
Caste not returned	16	9	7	229
Indian Christian				
Unspecified	4,592	2,358	2,234	630
Muslim				
Unspecified	7,241	3,938	3,303	40

NOTE :—Caste Table shows figures for "Minor Hindu and Jain Castes" and "Other Muslims", which include figures for Hindu and Muslim unspecified shown above.

398. Distribution of Castes—We will now consider the question of distribution. Let us first take the castes in broad groups. There are seven large groups in the Hindu, Jain and Tribal castes, the Muslims form the eighth group, and the rest of the population may be lumped together in the ninth group. The seven groups : (1) Brahman consisting of all true Brahman castes—even those like Tapodhan, Vyas and Rajgor, whom it is the fashion of other Brahman castes to look down upon ; (2) Vania similarly comprising all true Vania castes ; (3) the agricultural, forming the largest group consisting of Lewa and Kadwa Patidars and Anjanas ; (4) the miscellaneous labouring population of Koli and semi-Koli race, and including Barias, Talabdas, Khants and Makwanas who have Rajput affiliations ; (5) the Raniparaj, localised in South and Central Gujarat ; (6) the Depressed Classes consisting of the 13 recognised castes found in this State ; and (7) the Artisan group consisting of the modern occupational castes : Bhavsar, Darji, Kadia, Kansara, Kumbhar, Luhar, Mochi, Sonar, Soni and Sutar. Included under Luhar, Kumbhar and Sutar are the subcastes formed by fission or change of occupation which are known as Luhar-Sutar, Kumbhar-Sutaria and Kadia-Kumbhar. The Muslims have been grouped together here, but they have really two well-marked divisions—(*i*) foreign elements and (*ii*) local converts. The latter are also divided into trading or occupational groups which are as organised as any Hindu caste. Among the chief castes included under the Rest are the Rajputs, Bharwads, Rabaris, Ravalias and Vaghris. A diagram is shown here giving the respective proportions which will help the reader to understand the Table given below it. A map is also attached below the Table to illustrate the distribution of the chief social groups.

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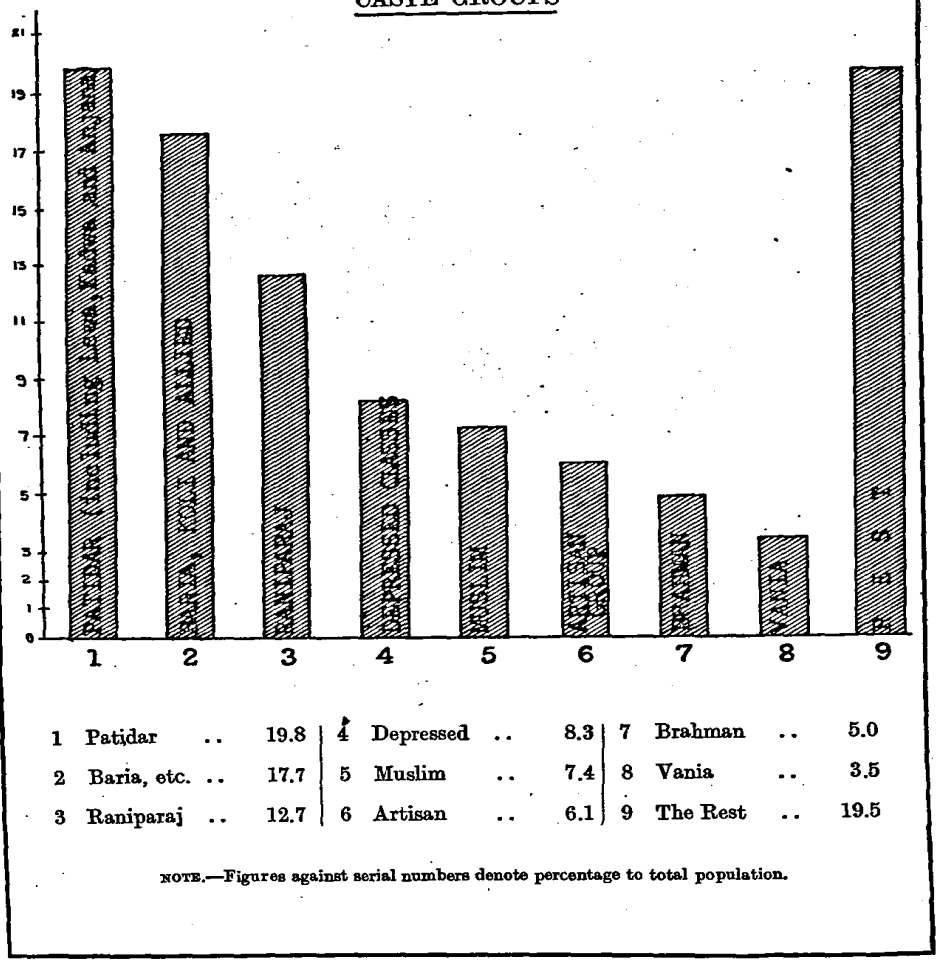
DIAGRAM SHOWING PROPORTIONS OF MAIN CASTE GROUPS



1	Patidar ..	19.8	4	Depressed ..	8.3	7	Brahman ..	5.0
2	Baria, etc. ..	17.7	5	Muslim ..	7.4	8	Vania ..	3.5
3	Raniparaj ..	12.7	6	Artisan ..	6.1	9	The Rest ..	19.5

NOTE.—Figures against serial numbers denote percentage to total population.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

SHOWING THE PROPORTIONS OF THE CHIEF SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS

SOCIAL GROUP	BARODA STATE		CENTRAL GUJARAT		NORTH GUJARAT		SOUTH GUJARAT		KATHIAWAD	
	Strength	Per cent-age	Strength	Per cent-age	Strength	Per cent-age	Strength	Per cent-age	Strength	Per cent-age
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Patidar and Anjana ..	484,491	20	141,227	17	273,711	27	22,849	6	46,704	23
Baria, Talabda, etc. ..	435,087	18	161,980	20	224,076	22	31,137	8	17,894	9
Raniparaj	312,181	13	90,816	11	2,778	..	218,370	54	217	..
Depressed Classes ..	203,043	8	72,362	9	93,832	9	20,303	5	16,546	8
Artisan Group ..	149,343	6	34,981	4	76,015	8	18,297	4	20,050	10
Brahman	123,714	5	42,907	5	49,187	5	17,937	4	13,683	7
Vania	86,477	4	33,572	4	38,735	4	5,773	1	8,397	4
Muslim	182,630	7	74,077	9	61,255	6	26,113	7	21,185	10
Rest	466,041	19	172,419	21	190,418	19	43,598	11	59,606	29
Total	2,443,007	100	824,341	100	1,010,007	100	404,377	100	204,282	100

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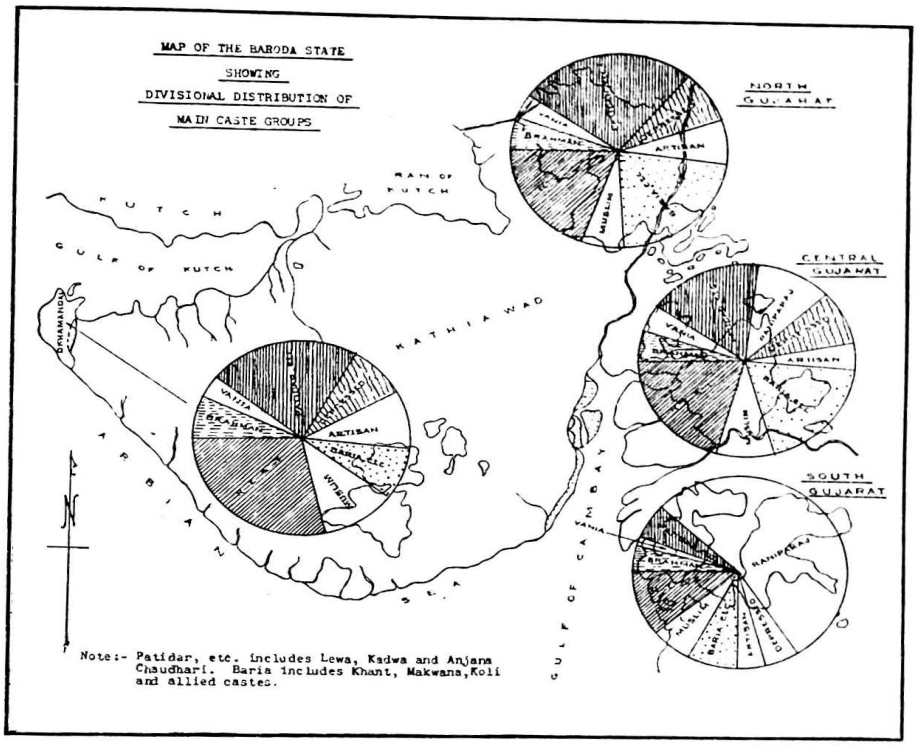

The above map and table show how some groups are widely diffused and others are localised. The Brahmans are only 5 per cent in the State and in the different divisions they retain this proportion more or less unchanged. In Kathiawad they form 7 per cent because of the temple places of Dwarka and Beyt. The Vanias are only 4 per cent of the general population, and everywhere except in South Gujarat, where they are only 1 per cent, they retain this proportion. The Patidars are about a fifth of the total population; but in South Gujarat they are only 6 per cent. Of the Patidars the Lewas predominate in Central Gujarat and the Kadwas in North Gujarat. But a fifth of the Lewas is found in Kathiawad and about one-twelfth in South Gujarat. The Anjanas are almost entirely localised in North Gujarat. The Raniparaj are mostly found in South Gujarat, where they form 54 per cent of its population. In Central Gujarat, less than a third of these tribes reside, while the other divisions are practically without them. The depressed classes are met with everywhere, and their general ratio (8 per cent) is practically repeated in every division, except in South Gujarat where they are in rather less numbers. The Artisans form only 6 per cent, but they are apparently in greatest strength in Kathiawad.

399. Castes by their Size—Another way to look at the caste return is to take the individual castes (taking the Brahman and Vania sub-castes as separate caste names and the forest tribes and depressed classes individually) and consider them according to their strength. We shall for that purpose omit the Muslim races and castes and just confine ourselves to the Hindu,

Size	No. of Castes	Strength in 1931	Percentage to total population
I 100,000 and over	5	847,988	38
II 50,000–100,000	7	426,153	19
III 20,000–50,000	16	483,153	21
IV Below 20,000	114	488,075	22
Total Hindu, Jain and Tribal..	**142**	**2,245,369**	**100**

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Jain and Tribal castes. Altogether 141 castes were separately compiled in this census; the miscellaneous Hindu and Jain castes not compiled numbered only 2,883 excluding the number of Hindu unspecified shown already in the marginal table of para 397 above. These miscellaneous castes are counted as one and included in the total of 114 (castes with a strength below 20,000) in the marginal table. The five castes of greatest size are Lewa Patidar (226,871), Kadwa Patidar (219,159), Thakarda (190,195), Vankar (Dhed) (107,988) and Baria (103,774). In 1921, there were only 3 castes of this size—Vankars and Barias have now moved up to the first class. The second class now consists of the Rajput (94,805), Bharwad and Rabari (64,378), Talabda (59,225), Bhil (53,235), Talavia (52,407) and Kumbher (50,996). In 1921 there were only 4 in this class of which two have now moved up to the higher class, and Rajputs and Talabdas have continued in the second class. Bharwads have come up to this class because Rabaris have not been separately compiled in this census. The other four have been promoted owing to their increase in numbers. The third class consists of one Brahman caste (Audich) with 45,222, one Vania (Shrimali) with 34,172, three Raniparaj tribes, two of the Depressed, three of the Artisan group and six other castes. In 1921, this class had only 13 castes. The first three classes absorb 78 per cent of the population. The remainder about a fifth belong to small-sized individual groups.

400. Caste by Traditional Occupation—A third way of analysing the caste figures is to distribute the population (of all religions) according to traditional occupation. In the Chapter on Occupation we have seen that 32 per cent of the population belong to castes in which more than half of the workers are engaged in their ancestral calling. It is useful therefore to take the caste returns as affording an index to the occupations of the people. Subsidiary Table II (given at the end of this chapter) attempts this distribution on an elaborate basis. The scheme consists of 33 groups of occupations and the *rest* grouped as the 34th. The following chief groups are given with figures against each showing the proportions per mille :—

Number of group in Sub. Table II	Name of group	Proportion per mille	Number of group in Sub. Table II	Name of group	Proportion per mille
I	Landlords and Cultivators ..	274	XIII	Traders and Pedlars	53
II	Military and Dominant	48	XV	Barbers	12
III	Labourers	174	XVII	Weavers, Carders and Dyers ..	52
IV	Raniparaj	128	XIX	Carpenters	11
V	Graziers and Dairymen	29	XXI	Potters and Bricklayers	21
VII	Hunters and Fowlers	15	XXIX	Leather workers	23
VIII & IX	Religion including Temple Service.	61	XXXIII	Sweepers	13
XII	Musicians, Dancers, etc.	15	XXXIV	The Rest	14

The Subsidiary Table itself indicates the races or castes included under each group; a supplementary Subsidiary Table (II-A) is also appended in which detailed names of castes included under "Others" in each group are shown. The above list does not include writers (who fortunately for the State number only 2 per mille) and bards and genealogists who are more than three times as many as writers. Fishermen, Tailors, Washermen, Masons, Oil-pressers, Blacksmiths, Gold and Silversmiths and Village servants are other castes omitted but together these do not form more than 4 per cent. Of the rest who are included, 27 out of 100 persons have an agrarian bent, 17 have the call to labour humbly either on the land or in other ways, 6 would turn to religion, 6 others will be disposed towards trade, 5 will swagger with a militant air, 11 will be inclined to industry and only 2 will be found to cater for the sanitary needs of their fellows.

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401. Caste and Occupation Tables Correlated—It is interesting to compare some of these figures with the facts regarding the general strength of workers (earners and working dependents) in actual employment on the corresponding occupations, as elicited from the Occupation Table (Imperial Table X). This comparison will afford some basis for finding out the probable sources of supply for each type of occupation. The figures of castes associated with some occupation by tradition will not however be enough. It will be necessary to find out also the number of workers (earners and working dependents) also in each group to find out a correcter basis of comparison, for which purpose figures have to be collated from Imperial Table XI. A further caution is also necessary. In Subsidiary Table II, primitive and forest tribes have been separated from the rest of the population, presumably because they have no traditional occupation. But two-thirds of them are actually occupied on labour, and a third on cultivation. Their workers have also to be distributed similarly. Thus we arrive at the marginal table which will be of interest. We find that under (1) Agriculture (landlords and cultivators), (2) Professions and letters, and (3) Village service, the traditional sources of recruitment are deficient and the demand has to be met by recourse to other castes. Thus it is explained why large numbers of people not traditionally used to agriculture have flocked to the land and why people denied the use of arms (like Marathas) or deprived of the opportunities of service to religion (like the Brahman) have crowded the public services and overstocked the learned professions. The commercial classes also show a large surplus, who find no room in their familiar calling and attempt to eke out a living either through agriculture, state service or other occupations as lawyers, teachers or doctors. Even the Bhangi finds little scope now for his humble but most necessary function in rural society. Only about a third of their workers are able to find employment as sweepers.

Traditional Occupation with which Caste is associated	Strength of Caste	Strength of workers in Caste	No. of workers actually employed on the occupation
Landlords and Cultivators ..	774,603	375,632	433,001
Labourers (agrestic and general)	643,947	319,793	271,307
Military and Dominant	118,014	54,265	8,700
Graziers and Dairymen	71,171	38,728	38,191
Religious (including Temple Service)	147,983	57,687	15,379
Trade	128,439	41,511	28,016
Writers (Public Administration Professions and Liberal Arts).	22,479	7,616	26,394
Sweepers	31,018	16,940	6,077
Village Service and Watch ..	10,904	5,974	7,330

402. Variation: General Results—We will now consider the question of variations in the strength of castes. Subsidiary Table III (at the end of this chapter) gives the variations in castes and tribes since 1901. The absolute figures are given first and the rates of increase or decrease are worked out in the final columns. In the margin, a summary of variations is given for the main castes, divided according to the literacy percentage scale with which the reader is now familiar. The Brahman increase is only 8.6; it is further reduced to just 8, when we deduct the *hijratis* from the increase. Of these, the Gujarati section has grown by 9.5 per cent. The Lewa Patidars have grown by 16 per cent. But this is only apparent. Without the *hijratis*, their increase is only 7.4. We see therefore that in the Advanced groups, the real increase is much less than the growth of the general population. The slow increase amongst Patidars is due not only to their low birth rate, but also to loss through migration. As shown already in the Chapter on Civil Condition, the rate of increase amongst the selected castes of the Advanced group is only 11.4. Maratha Kshatriyas show a decline of 9.5 per cent, but combined with Maratha and Konkani Kunbis, their total strength shows an increase of 2.7 per cent, which may be taken as their real variation. Many Marathas not specially entered as Kshatriya must have been compiled as Maratha Kunbi. In the Intermediate division, the most remarkable

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Caste	Strength in 1931	Variation per cent since 1921
Advanced		
Brahman	123,714	+ 8.7
Lewa Patidar	226,871	+16.2
Maratha Kshatriya	12,164	— 9.5
Vania	86,477	+10.2
Intermediate		
Anjana Chaudhari	38,459	+17.4
Baria, Khant and Makwana	128,901	+29.6
Kadwa Patidar	219,107	+16.2
Kumbhar	50,996	+18.5
Rajput	94,805	+19.7
Talabda	59,566	—18.1
Illiterate		
Bharwad	64,378	+10.3
Koli and allied castes	238,411	+10.7
Depressed Classes	202,777	+14.7
Primitive Tribes	312,051	+20.7
Muslim		
Fakir	6,495	+34.0
Ghanchi	7,426	+82.5
Malek	11,206	+43.0
Memon	8,971	—35.3
Molesalam	10,862	+15.1
Momna	13,829	+95.0
Pathan	15,884	+17.7
Saiyad	9,590	+ 7.6
Shaikh	26,073	— 2.9
Vohra	28,355	+ 7.2

growth is seen amongst Barias, Khants and Makwanas who are supposed to have grown by nearly 30 per cent. Here again the increase is only apparent. The Barias themselves, an aspiring community, are a caste to which many of the lower caste Kolis (Patanwadia and the like) wish to attach themselves as a half-way house to the Rajput status. Particularly was this tendency evident in this census, as it was decided that the Barias would not be shown under Kolis in the Caste Table. As a result many of these Patanwadias, etc., called themselves Baria. The increase in the Baria section alone is over 42 per cent. It is necessary, therefore, to take the Baria, Khant and Makwana total and add it to that of Talabada and Koli and allied castes, to find out the true rate of variation, which is 13.8 per cent. The Rajputs show an increase of nearly 20 per cent. Part of this is spurious for reasons already stated. They could not have grown at a faster rate than the general population, as they do not marry their widows, and their females are in serious defect. The Depressed Classes' increase is genuine, so is that amongst the Forest Tribes. Amongst Muslims, the low increase in Saiyads is due to reasons similar to those given for Advanced Hindus. The Vohras show only 7 per cent increase. But the Vohras consist of two groups: the Agriculturist and the Trading. The first increased to 16,436 in 1931 from 5,391, *i.e.*, trebling itself, while the second declined from 21,064 to 11,709 or nearly halved itself. Obviously the census figures for these sections separately are not reliable and even the total strength of Vohras as shown by the census does not appear to be entirely correct. Some persons returned as Ghanchis in rural areas have been found to be really Vohras. But even if the total of Vohras of both sections is accepted as correct, the strength of each section has to be estimated. The question remains, which year's figures are to be accepted as a correct basis. In 1911, the agriculturist and trading sections numbered 11,858 and 13,177 respectively. In 1921, the corresponding figures were 5,391 and 21,064. Thus as between the 1911 and 1931 figures, those of 1921 appear obviously to be incorrect. If we assume a 5 per cent increase for the agriculturists in 1921, they should have numbered 12,430 in that year, instead of 5,391, and the trading section would then be only 14,025 instead of 21,064. Thus the true increase in the agriculturist section is reduced to 32.2 per cent; and the true variation amongst the traders is a decline of 16.5 per cent. Shaikhs show a decline, but the 1921 figures included many Maleks and other miscellaneous elements. That accounts for the large increase amongst the latter in 1931, the figure for which year may be taken as correct. If the Shaikhs and Maleks are taken together, the increase is only 7.5. Memons and Mumnas are two other groups with whom, owing to confusion of names, the mistakes in record usually happen. The matter was enquired into closely in this census, and it was found that large numbers of Mumna population in Sidhpur and Patan talukas were often mistaken for Memons and recorded as such in 1911 and 1921. The two combined show a variation of 8.8 per cent in the last ten years. If the 1931 figure of Memons is considered correct and an increase of 9 per cent is assumed, then there must have been only 8,163 Memons in 1921 instead of 13,871 and there should have been 12,800 Mumnas instead of only 7,092 in that year. Thus the real increase amongst Mumnas is only about 9 per cent.

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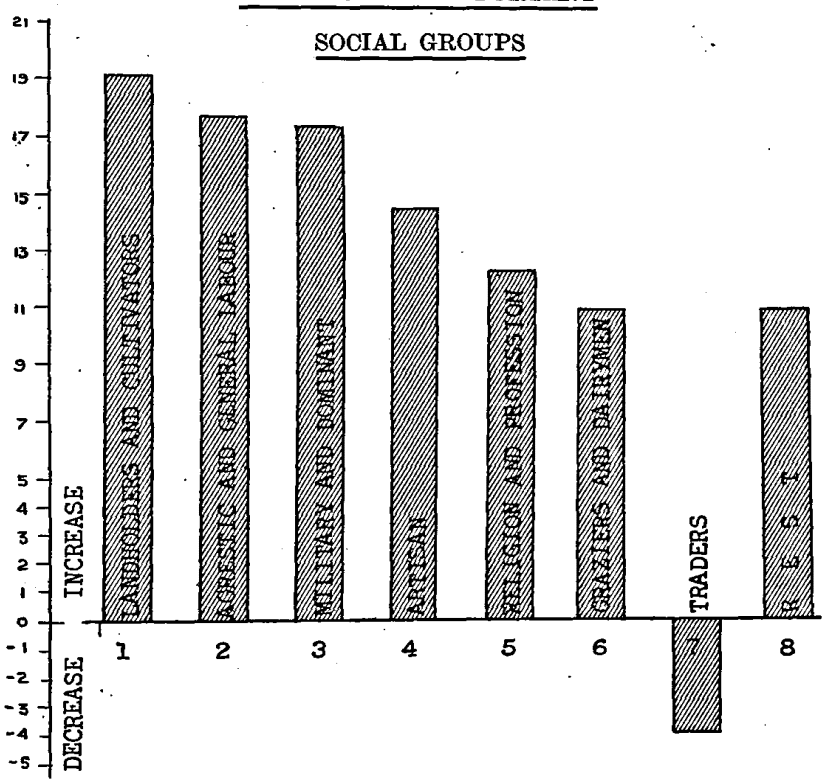
403. Variation in Social Groups—We will now group the castes according to their main hereditary occupations and see how far the variations in each differ from the general rate of increase. For the purpose of estimating the strength of landlords and cultivators, and agrestic and general labour, we shall again distribute the Raniparaj tribes, as we have done in para 401 above. Under Religious and Professional, we have combined priests and devotees, temple servants, genealogists, bards and astrologers, and the writer castes. The Artisan groups are the same as those selected for Subsidiary Table I above. The below table gives the strength of these different social groups and their

DIAGRAM SHOWING

VARIATION IN IMPORTANT

SOCIAL GROUPS



		Per cent			Per cent
1	Landholders and Cultivators	+ 19.1	5	Religion and Profession	+ 12.3
2	Agrestic and General Labour	+ 17.7	6	Graziers and Dairymen	+ 11.1
3	Military and Dominant	+ 17.4	7	Traders	— 4.0
4	Artisan	+ 14.5	8	Rest	+ 11.1

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Social Groups	Strength in 1931	Variation per cent
I. Landlords and Cultivators	774,603	+ 19.1
II. Military and Dominant..	118,014	+ 17.4
III. Agrestic and General Labour	643,947	+ 17.7
IV. Graziers and Dairymen..	71,171	+ 11.1
V. Religious and Professional	170,462	+ 12.3
VI. Traders and Pedlars ..	128,439	— 4.0
VII. The Artisan Group ..	149,343	+ 14.5
VIII. The Rest	387,028	+ 11.1

variations since 1921. The highest increase is recorded amongst those castes and races associated with agriculture. Labour and Dominant come next in contributing to the general growth of population, while in the rear come the Religious and Professional castes, with Traders actually recording a decrease. But this decrease is not real. The Trading classes consist, among others, of Memons. But the 1921 Memon and Trading Vohra figures are incorrect, as suggested in the paragraph above. The true figure for Memons for 1921 is somewhere about 8,200 or nearly 5,700 less than the census return, and the true Vohra (trading) figure is a little over 7,000 less. Thus the total of the Trading class for 1921 should be reduced by about 12,700, and the true variation arrived at is an increase of 6.1 per cent instead of a decline of 4 per cent. A diagram is given on the previous page to illustrate the marginal table above.

§ 3. Treatment of Selected Groups

404. Depressed Classes—We will now notice a few selected groups. Taking the depressed classes first we show in the margin a list of castes that are definitely known to be "untouchable" in the State. Their strength in 1931, and variations since 1921 are indicated in the marginal table. Of these, the following eight castes are Gujarati:—Bhangi, Chamar, Garoda, Nadia, Shenva, Turi, Thori and Vankar. The rest occurring in small numbers in the State are Deccani. Nadias occur for the first time in this census. Probably they were mixed up with Bhangis and Chamars in previous censuses. Thoris occurred in 1911, and disappearing in 1921 have again found a place in the returns. Nadias are a little higher than Bhangis, but lower than Chamars. For details regarding them the reader is referred to the Glossary. The variations are more or less normal. The large increase in Shenvas is mostly accounted for by the small increase in Bhangis below them and the still smaller increase amongst the Vankars (Dheds). Assumption by the latter of the Vankar name generally must have led to considerable stiffening of their caste organisations everywhere, and the drifting of many into the lower groups of Chamar and Shenva. The Shenva figure in 1921 showed a decline of nearly 20 per cent since 1911 which was unnatural. According to the general rate of increase, they should have numbered 7,966 in 1921 and 9,161 in 1931. There are therefore nearly 500 spurious accretions in the Shenva total. The Bhangis have grown at a rather lower rate than the general population since 1921. In 1901 they numbered 24,011 since which date their numbers have risen by only 20 per cent. One reason for this slow progress is that a few on the top have passed off as Shenvas and that Nadias in previous censuses were returned as Bhangis. The largest caste, Vankar, has made the slowest progress only 14 per cent in the last 30 years. The Garoda, the most educated of these classes, has increased by 32 per cent since 1901.

Name of Caste	Strength in 1931	Variation since 1921
Bhangi	31,018	+12.7
Burud including Vansfoda.	478	+18.1
Chamar	42,802	+21.8
Garoda	7,796	+18.7
Holar	54	....
Mahar	572	— 2.4
Mang	37	+ 8.8
Nadia	622	....
Shenva	9,643	+58.8
Thori	56	....
Turi	1,711	+50.4
Vankar including Dhed ..	107,988	+ 8.4

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405. Muslim Castes and Races—We will now separately deal with Muslim castes and races. While considering broad social groups, we included different sections of Muslims under each. But their proportions vary in these groups. Thus though under Landlords and Cultivators, Muslims form rather less than one-seventh, under Labour their contribution is only 1 per mille. Under Military and Dominant, their representatives are only Arabs and Behlims: Pathans who have also warlike traditions are in this State given to agriculture. Under Religion, the Muslim quota is only one-ninth, but in Trade, they bulk more largely, being about a fifth of the total strength of the classes traditionally associated with it. In the margin the Muslims are divided into Advanced, Intermediate and the Rest (according to our familiar percentage scale) and the variations in each are indicated. They are further divided into (1) foreign elements and (2) indigenous converts, who are further sub-divided into (*a*) the trading section and (*b*) other groups. The variations in each are shown and compared with the general rate of increase in the Muslim population. The Advanced group shows a decrease, but this is only apparent as it contains Memons, figures regarding which for 1921 have required adjustment (*vide* para 402 above). After this is done, the variation under Advanced is changed into an increase of 7.7 per cent, which is about the same as Advanced Hindus and may be accepted as correct. For similar reasons the decline in the Trading section of local converts and the increase under 'other' are to be discounted. But generally it seems true that the Muslim population depends for its growth mainly on its indigenous elements and not on its foreign; and like the Hindus, it is being replenished, not by its most affluent or most intellectual, but by its hardier, but less educated and poorer sections. We have now to set out the component sections of each of the elements forming the Muslim population. For this purpose, we give a table prepared on the same basis as that shown on page 329 of the Census Report of 1921 :—

Variations amongst Muslims

Social Groups	Strength	Variation since 1921
Advanced	53,847	— 3.4
Intermediate	100,537	+ 24.6
Rest..	28,246	+ 8.8
Foreign elements	60,351	+ 5.8
Local Converts	122,279	+ 16.2
(i) *Trading*	*23,266*	— *37.3*
(ii) *Other*	*99,013*	+ *45.3*
General Muslim	182,630	+ 12.5

Name of Group	Including	Number of caste names compiled	Strength
I.—Foreign Elements			**60,351**
A.—Arab	Saiyad, true Shaikh and Arab	3	
B.—Pathan	Pathan, Khokhar, Afghan	2 (Afghan not compiled)	
C.—Mughal	Mughal	1	
D.—Baloch	Baloch, Makrani	2	
E.—African	Siddi (Habshi)	Not compiled	
F.—Sindhi	Sindhi	1	
II.—Indigenous			**122,279**
A.—Neo-Musalmans .	Khoja, Memon, Vohra (peasant), Vohra (trading), Molesalam, Kasbati, Momna, Sipahi, Dhadhi, and Mirasi	10 (Mirasi included under Dhadhi)	
B.—Converts who have still retained Hindu caste or occupational names	Chhipa, Darji, Bhat, Bhoi, Khatri, Dhobi, Machhi, Sutar, Rathod, Parmar, Makwana, Behlim, Gandhrap, Gola, Ghanchi, Kalal, Kumbhar, Luhar, Mali, Hajam, Bhadbhunja, Salat, Saraniya, Bandhara, Mochi, Galiara, Hijda and Bhand	6 (Others included under other Muslims)	
C.—Converts who have adopted new occupational names.	Bhadela, Bhathiara, Bhisti, Dudhwala, Khatki, Naghori, Nat, Pindhara, Pinjara, Poladi, Rangrej, Panjnigara, Tai and Kasai	6 (Others included under other Muslims)	
D.—Converts who are menials or labourers ..	Maleks..	1	
E.—Unclean	Bhangi	....	
F.—Religious Mendicants	Fakir	1	
G.—Unspecified Muslim		....	

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406. Race of Christians—Christians are made up of 7,064 Indians, 63 Anglo-Indians and 135 persons belonging to European and allied races (*vide* Imperial Table XVI). Europeans consist of 111 subjects of the Empire and 24 belonging to other races—mostly of American nationality. Anglo-Indians have increased from 44 and European British subjects have increased from 80 to their respective present figures in the last ten years. The increase amongst Europeans is wholly due to the presence of a ship in Port Okha on census day, which contributed 27 European males (British subjects). If these 27 are omitted, the number of European British subjects is reduced to 84. The Anglo-Indian increase is wholly due to the opening of the workshops in the Marshalling Yard and Goya Gate in Baroda City and the Dabhoi Railway Station. The number of Europeans residing within the State limits (excluding the Camp) is much less than before because many high posts which used to be filled by Europeans are now held by Indians since many years. Apart from the adventitious presence of Europeans in Port Okha, the others usually reside in Baroda City and environs. The next largest settlement is in the Mehsana Railway Station. As to record of Anglo-Indians, it may be mentioned that since 1921, a stricter reckoning has been made of them, so that non-descript Indian converts of the "Feringhi" type were treated as Indians. A distinct tendency is also observable amongst educated Goans of good families to call themselves Indians, dress their ladies in *saris* and in other ways to assimilate themselves to Indian ideas. The Indian Christians are divided by race or caste as shown in the margin (*vide* Imperial Table XVII). The largest section is the Indian Christian of the indeterminate variety as pointed out already; they are mostly drawn from the socially degraded Hindu castes and do not care to disclose their origin. On the other hand, the Indian convert in the second or third generation is so completely changed that he does not in many cases really know from what caste his ancestor was drawn.

Caste or Race	Strength in 1931
Depressed Classes	1,719
Kanbi, Maratha	12
Pathan	7
Portuguese Indian ..	196
Raniparaj	538
Caste unspecified	4,592

407. Forest and Primitive Tribes—Imperial Table XVIII gives details of the eighteen tribes which are usually found in the State. The marginal table gives the strength of each tribe and the variation since 1921. To understand the variations, it is important, however, to remember the following points. Talavias are a socially superior sept of the Dublas. Vasawas also have differentiated out from the Bhils but as a sept distinct from them. Tadvis also represent a fission (as the name implies) from Bhils. Chodhras have a sub-section known as Vālva or Valvādi, with which Vālvis are sometimes confused by the enumerators. These Valvis are perhaps a degraded sept of the Gamit tribe, themselves the most depressed economically of the Raniparaj. Dhanka (toddy tapper) is something of a generic name for all these tribes, so that persons returned as Dhanka are like "Raniparaj" unspecified. Kolghas and Valvis are the untouchable sections amongst these tribes. Tadvis are localised in Central Gujarat. Nearly 72 per cent of the Bhils are met with in Central Gujarat and the rest from what are known as the Rani Bhils of Mangrol, Songadh and Vyara talukas. Nearly one-third of Talavias live in Central Gujarat and the rest in the Southern division. Seven out of 12 Nayakdas reside in South Gujarat, the rest mostly in Sankheda taluka. Over two-thirds of Vasawas are in South Gujarat (Mangrol and Songadh talukas) and the rest in Central Gujarat (mostly in the Kahnam area and Vaghodia taluka). Chodhras, Dhodias, Gamits and Dublas are almost entirely confined to South Gujarat. Dublas are mostly to be met with in the Rasti, Chodhras are on the other hand spread in Semi-Rasti and Rani tracts, while the bulk of the Gamits are in the Rani area. These considerations will help in the explanation of some of the curious jumps which the figures

Name of Tribe	Strength of tribe in 1931	Variation since 1921
All Tribes	**312,051**	**+ 20.7**
Bavcha	1,186	+ 16.6
Bhil	54,542	+ 24.9
Chodhra	38,786	+ 18.1
Dhanka	3,457	— 54.6
Dhodia	26,132	+ 22.4
Dubla	12,894	— 58.8
Gamit	59,213	+ 13.9
Kathodia	551	+ 48.1
Kokna	7,952	+ 17.6
Kolgha	991	+ 3.9
Kotwalia	2,207	+ 57.2
Mavchi	919	+ 90.2
Nayakda	11,802	+ 36.1
Tadvi	20,817	+ 47.0
Talavia	52,565	+ 156.0
Valvi	132	— 91.0
Varli	368	+ 79.5
Vasawa	17,527	+ 30.2
Unspecified	10	— 94.0

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show. The large decline in the Dhankas is rather a testimony to greater accuracy of record. They declined by nearly 60 per cent in 1921, so that this accuracy is continuous and progressive since 1911. Dublas have declined by nearly 59 per cent, largely accounting for the extraordinary rise of 156 per cent amongst Talavias. Both these tribes taken together show only an increase of 26 per cent, which may be considered as the true rate of increase amongst them. The large increase amongst Tadvis is mostly due to the fact that nearly half of the persons returned as Dhanka in 1921, were shown under their true name in 1931. The decline amongst Valvis was due to the fact discovered after the Caste Table was ready that certain Valvis were wrongly compiled as Chodhras. Generally it may be said that these tribes are Gujarati-speaking,—only Varlis, Kathodias and Koknas originating from the Konkan speak a *patois* of Marathi and Gujarati. For further details, the reader is referred to the Caste Glossary.

§ 4. Race Composition and Modern Tendencies

408. Race Composition of the Gujarati People—Having now completed the statistical analysis of the caste return, we shall attempt to estimate the strength of the different elements of the Gujaratis. The Gujarati people, as pointed out in the Chapter on Language, is a composite population into whose formation various race elements have mingled at widely different points of time. The primary element is the aboriginal, represented in this State by the eighteen tribes, in the higher sections of which there is decided Aryan admixture. Next come the Aboriginals of the Plain, the Koli and allied castes, together with the semi-Rajput communities. Then there are the communities in which there is evidence of the Rajput and Gujar strains, the latter of which has given its modern name to the country and its people. Then there are the intellectual stocks—the Brahmans, Kayasthas and non-Rajput Vanias—which are of relatively pure Aryan lineage—leaving the residue of miscellaneous groups in which the Aryan and Dravidian stocks have mingled. At the base are the aboriginal tribes, the primitive inhabitants of the country. From the Raniparaj, the Chokapura (Pavagadhia) section of Chodhras has to be omitted to get an idea of the purer aboriginal element. As the Chokapuris were not separately compiled in this census, a 20 per cent increase on the figures for 1911 has to be added; this done, we get the remaining Raniparaj—301,766—as definitely aboriginal. Even then there is considerable admixture: the Central Gujarat Bhils, Tadvis, Talavias and Naiks show decided Aryan influence in their physical and mental characters. It is proper therefore to distinguish between the early Aboriginal and the Aboriginal of the Plain, for which purpose we have to omit these Central Gujarat sections from the above total, and we thus get 222,009 as the estimate of the early Aboriginal element. The Aboriginal of the Plain consist of these Central Gujarat settled Bhil communities—79,757 as recorded in the last census—and also of Kolis proper with allied tribes, excluding the upper layer of Baria, Khant, Makwana and Talabda who may be termed Quasi-Rajputs. These excluded, the second class will number 326,353. Then we have to estimate the races with the Rajput strain. These include the undoubted Rajputs, the quasi-Rajputs as above, the castes of Rajput descent like Oswals, Shrimalis (among Vanias), Karadias and Anjanas, Bhavsars, Luhars, Kathis, Vaghers, Vadhels, Chokapuri Chodhras, the converted Rajputs like Molesalams, Behlims and Memons, and lower down in the social scale—Ravalias, Vaghris, Vankers and Chamars. Akin to the Rajputs but pastoral and agricultural in occupation are the large groups associated with the Gujar name like Lewas, Kadwas, other Kanbis, Kachhias and Sathwaras with their corresponding Muslim converts, Maleks and Mumnas, who are predominantly agricultural; and Ahirs, Bharwads, Rabaris and Gujar Charans, who are pastoral—the typical Gujar calling. Then again the Gujar strain enters largely into some of the prominent artisan castes—Darjis, Luhars, Kumbhars, Sonis and Sutars. For these we have to estimate from the 1911 figures with the addition of a presumed 20 per cent increase. We have to add lastly the few Sikhs to make up the total under this head. These calculations give a total of 1,277,529 for races with the Gujar and Rajput strains. Then we have to cal-

RACIAL GROUPS	Strength	Proportion to Population
I. Early Aboriginals	222,009	9.1
II. Aboriginals of the Plain ..	326,353	13.4
III. Races with a Rajput and Gujar Strain	1,277,529	52.3
IV. Brahmans and allied Aryan including Parsi ..	204,938	8.4
V. Miscellaneous Aryo-Dravidian		
i. Non-Gujar Artisan .	58,336	2.4
ii. Other castes including Marathas and indigenous Muslims	293,195	12.0
VI. Foreign Elements		
i. Muslim	60,351	2.4
ii. Other including European and Anglo-Indian ..	296	
Total Population ..	2,443,007	100.0

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culate the strength of Brahmans and allied Aryan groups, and the residue of Aryo-Dravidian elements, finishing up with the foreign elements amongst Muslims and Christians. A marginal table is prepared which gives also the relative percentages of these elements, to the total population. The Brahmans and allied groups contain, besides all true Brahman castes (there being no evidence of Gujar Brahmans in this State) and all non-Rajput Vanias, Parsis, Brahmakshatris, Brahmabhats, Barots, Targalas, Kayasthas and Prabhus. The foreign elements consist of those amongst Muslims which we already know and of Buddhists, Jews and Europeans. These leave us with 58,336 non-Gujar artisans and 293,195 for the miscellaneous residue of Aryo-Dravidian Hindus and Muslims. The Gujar together with the Rajput forms the most dominant element. The Aboriginals of the Plain come next followed by the Aryo-Dravidian and the rest.

409. Who are the Rajputs and Gujars?—Having now obtained a general conspectus of the composite Gujarati population, it will be necessary to see how far the scheme fits in with known facts of anthropology and history. The classical Risley classification of Indian races would place the whole of the Gujarat population under the "Scytho-Dravidian" group. This classification is surprising in view of Risley's own admission that Rajputs and Gujars are not Scythians, but Indian Aryans. But the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Gujarat Population) would class Rajputs and Gujars with the White Hunas or Mihirs. This theory however is grounded on the surmise—for it is nothing more than a surmise—that the Gujars are a race of foreigners who swooped on India from the North-West, like the Sakas and the White Huns. From the Rajput word of 'mer' or 'midh' signifying a title of honour, it is argued that the Gujaras were the same as Mihiras (the Sanskrit name for White Hunas). None of the Rajput clans have any tradition associating them with Scythians or other non-Indian races. The Gujars appear in Indian history about the 6th century A.D.on the break-down of Buddhism in the land. They appear in Rajputana and Broach in two isolated groups where they establish dynasties. The Broach dynasty spreads into the whole of Gujarat, lasts for about 200 years till the middle of the 8th century and disappears from Indian history but not without leaving its name and impress uneffaceably on the Gujarati people. Now it is suggested from mere verbal resemblances, that Gujaras may have been the same as Khizars. "The similarity of sound" says Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, in his History of Mediæval India, "has often misled antiquarians into strange theories, and the attempt to identify the Gujar with the Khizar is not less strange than the now generally abandoned identification of the Jats with the Goetae." The nasal index of the pastoral Gujar which is 66.9 is shown by Sir H. Risley himself to be even lower than that of Parisians and to stand first in that regard amongst all Indo-Aryans. Gujars have characteristically long heads also. This is an insuperable objection to treating Gujaras and Rajputs as part of the Scythian stock which was a broad headed race. "Still less probable is it," to quote from the India Census Report of 1901 "that waves of foreign conquerors entering India at a date when the Indo-Aryans had long been an organised community should have been absorbed by them so completely as to take rank among their most typical representatives, while the form of their heads, the most persistent of racial distinctions was transformed from the extreme of one type to the extreme of another, without leaving any trace of the transitional forms involved in the process." There is no need again to assume an extra-Indian emigration when the facts of history are enough for us to hold that the Gujars are an Aryan tribe, pastoral in characteristics, but raised through the pressure of times to a military and aggressive nation. Not one of the accepted lists, in Indian tradition or history, of non-Indian tribes mentions the Gurjara as one. The Mahabharat lists speak of Chinas, Kambojas, etc., but not Gurjaras. Pauranic lists mention Sākas, Yavanas, Turushkas and Gandharvas, but not these. Even as late as 8th century A.D. when Hinduism is firmly established, Mlechhas mentioned in the Mudra Rakshas are Chedis, Gandharvas, Hunas, Khasas, Sākas, but not Gurjaras. It is suggested as the ground for the surmise that Gujaras were an alien tribe of invaders, that they were Hinduised, of set purpose, by the Brahmans who admitted them to Kshatriyahood, in order to crush the Buddhists and their Kushan allies. This hypothesis assumes that Scythians were crushed with the aid of their own kinsmen. There is no shadow of a reason for this supposition. Hindu kings have repeatedly beaten the nomad hordes without any such assistance. Gautamiputra in 150 A.D. defeated the Pahlavas, Sakas and Yavanas in the Dekhan; the great victories of Samudragupta (370-395) are well-known. Chandragupta II overthrew the Sakas in 395-415 A.D. Yasodharman crushed the Hunas in 530 and Sri Harsha had one of his earlier triumphs over Turks and Hunas in the beginning of the 7th century. In none of these struggles does it ever appear that the Hindus sought the aid of Gujars. Again if Hindus did accept the Gujars as allies, Bana, the laureate of Brahmanism, would not have gloried in the victory of Prabhakar Vardhan over them. Besides, if the Gujars and Rajputs were really a nomad horde, it is hard to believe that they should have been so completely Hinduised as to become within two hundred years, the predominant racial group in Gujarat and Rajputana, to be accepted without demur as the flower of India's chivalry. No alien race would have been vested with so much honour. Then again there is no reason to suppose that they are the same as Khizars. What we know of the history

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of Khizaria does not show that the Khizars were ever a conquering people. Their homeland was the venue of wild hordes, from whom they fled and took refuge " among the seventy mouths of the Volga." They were a civil commercial people ; while the Gujars of India were a pastoral people, hardy and war-like, and cattle breeders by profession. These latter cannot but be of the same stock as the Ahirs. The traditional origin of the Agnikula Rajputs—the Parmar, Chauhan, Padihar and Solanki—need not support a theory of a body of alien immigrants adopted into the Kshatriya fold after their purification by fire. It might far more suitably support the raising of an indigenous Aryan tribe lower in the social scale—probably Vaishya in origin—to the Kshatriya status by reason of its deeds in conquest and its militant organisation. And indeed that seems to have happened. A thousand years of Buddhism had obliterated, in Western and Northern India, as it did in Eastern India, all distinctions of caste and respect for Brahmans. The tradition of Parashuram's extirpation of Kshatriyas was followed, and reinforced under Buddhism, by a long sustained levelling movement. The Scythian interlude showed to the Brahman that the only way to renew Hinduism was to raise Vaishyas and other lower orders to the military brotherhood. That is how the Gujars—an ancient Vaishya tribe—came into fitful prominence on the stage of Indian history. But the Brahmans took care that the Gujars did not grow too powerful—Prabhakar Vardhan had to punish them for that reason. To quote again from Mr. Vaidya* :—

" The Gujars like the Jats are the ancient Vedic Aryan Vaisyas ; and that explains why their names are not met with in ancient records before the fifth or sixth century. For such ancient scanty historical records as we possess concern themselves chiefly with kings and kingly families and rarely mention the common people. In the third century A.D. the Vaisyas for the first time came into prominence because (most Kshatriya kingly families being killed or driven further south) many Vaisya families took to the profession of arms against the foreign invaders of Scythic origin. The Guptas thus were Vaisyas who first opposed the Yue-chi and latterly opposed the Huns. It seems that when the Huns first invaded India and founded a kingdom at Sialkot the Gujars moved down into Rajputana, the sandy deserts of which have always afforded shelter to Aryans of the Punjab and the middle country when oppressed and dispossessed by foreigners. That seems to be the reason why the Gujars came into prominence about the time of the Huns. They moved from the Punjab into Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Bhinmal about the beginning of the sixth century. They even sent off-shoots further southwards and we find the Gujara kingdom of Broach founded by Dadda at about the same time. These two kingdoms were found in a flourishing condition by Hiuen Tsang. Pratāpavardhana conquered the Gujaras not because they were Huns or foreigners ; he conquered them as every conquering hero in India did who conquered both foreigners and Indians in his *digvijaya*. The Gujaras of Bhinmal were to his south-west and he must have established his overlordship over them also. Yet the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal was strong and even Harsha did not entirely dispossess the Gujaras. They were probably only in nominal subjection to him as we have already stated. And they not only remained strong but in the next century grew stronger and subdued Kanauj itself."

410. Proposed New Classification—If the view that Gujars and Rajputs are Indian Aryan tribes is adopted, then we have the following broad classification of the Baroda State population :—

Group No.	Name of Group	Population strength	Percentage to total
1	2	3	4
I	Early Aboriginal	222,009	9.1
II	Civilised Aboriginal with Aryan Strain	326,353	13.4
III	Indian Aryan..	1,482,407	60.7
IV	Aryo-Dravidian	351,531	14.4
V	Non-Indian Elements	60,647	2.4

411. Modern Tendencies—From these speculations on race, we turn with relief to describe such of the recent tendencies within castes which are worthy of note. It has been well said that although caste at any given moment seems rigid and immutable, yet it is not so unamenable to change, as its seeming rigidity and its apparent injustice would lead one to expect. New castes have come into existence from time to time ; once formed, they appear to be inexorable, but the fact that the formation is possible shows that the system admits of change and is capable of adapting itself to new conditions. Particularly is this the case with the occupational groups, which still cling tenaciously to their old callings. Where modern conditions have rendered their employments unprofitable, enterprising individuals have drifted away from their present castes to new trades or have

* Vaidya's *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, page 356.

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taken to the land. Thus are formed the new castes, Kadia-Kumbhars, Luhar-Sutars, Sutar-Luhars and Kumbhar-Sutarias. In 1911, the first named group was still forming with only 45 persons. In 1931, these Kadia-Kumbhars (*i.e.*, potters who have taken to the more elaborate work of builders) numbered 1,946. Sutar-Luhars were similarly a new unit formed by fission in 1911. They were only 72 then,—they are now 2,040 and they include among them also Luhars who had turned Sutars. We see thus two opposite processes coalescing for purposes of association. We have not yet seen in the State, evidence of artisan groups consolidating under one name—like that of 'Rohela Tank Kshatriya'; but there is a great deal of activity amongst these for self-improvement and search after new caste names to raise themselves in the eyes of their fellows. The instances of Valands and Panchal Luhars have been already cited. Indeed so intense was the agitation for changing the name of the old barber caste that the rival claims of 'Nai Brahman' and 'Valand' nearly split the community in twain. The old Valand Hitechhu Mandal was broken up about 1928, their conferences became inactive and their organ ceased publication. The Prajapati Sabha for the Kumbhars began to function fairly actively during the decade. Apart from these special activities, other sections were busy in organising caste *sabhas* for social reform. The Luhana caste formed its *mandal*, and an active, and somewhat obstreperous youth league formed amongst them, made it hot for their elders to waste money on caste feasts, on occasions of marriage or death. Similar youth league activities were prominent amongst Patidars, Vanias and other higher castes, helping to swell the protest against child-marriages or disparate union of old men with young girls and other social evils. Everywhere there was stirring and men's minds were deeply moved to social service.

412. The Problem of Untouchability—Particularly was this stirring noticeable amongst classes which are submerged. As an offshoot of the *mata* movement, some of the Raniparaj tribes, particularly the Dhodias, kept firm in their attitude towards drink and took praiseworthy steps to improve their community in education. The so-called Antyajas, whose touch still causes pollution to the orthodox Hindu, showed great progress in education and social organisation. With the active sympathy—and even indulgence—of the State authorities, the Antyajas have gradually improved their claims with the caste Hindus. In social organisation they have begun to show signs of intelligence and even leadership. The great meeting of 7,000 Antyajas in Chhathiarda (near Mehsana) on the 10th April 1927, which lasted for 3 days, and the Dalit Parishad on the 17th May 1931 are two memorable events in the history of their uplift movement. His Highness the Maharaja has always been very keen on the removal of untouchability which has so far acted as a bar to their progress. On the 10th April last year, he gave a banquet, to which he invited all the prominent leaders of the Antyajas and his leading officials sat down with him and ate freely in the company of these people. Still more recently, the decision of the Education department to throw open schools for caste Hindus in selected areas to the children of the depressed classes has attracted considerable notice and roused violent protests from Brahmans and other higher classes in certain towns. The problem of untouchability has however neared solution very considerably in the last ten years. Two factors however which militate against its removal must be remembered. As Mr. H. N. Brailsford remarks in an article in the "New Leader":—

"More than half of the difficulty is that the outcaste are themselves penetrated by a sense of their own degradation and feel for the higher castes a shrinking reverence which has eaten into their very nerves. The other half of the difficulty is that the untouchables often are, in fact, degraded—dirty, ignorant, abysmally poor, and given to practices which really are disgusting and mean."

These remarks, true as a whole, have to be modified in certain areas, where long established schools working amongst them have achieved marvels of sanitation and cleanliness. The so-called Dhedwadas of Chhani, Unjha and other places in the Raj are as clean as, and even better swept than, the homes of higher classes.

413. Signs of Co-operative Effort—From these evidences of class consciousness and the urge for self-improvement, we can judge that organised effort on co-operative lines can become more and more successful if worked properly. Weavers' and Chamars' societies were begun during 1911-21, but since then considerable progress on these lines has been recorded. There are now 41 weavers' societies as against 19 in 1920, while societies for economic improvement of Chamars rose from 5 to 11 in 1950. Societies on co-operative lines for the economic needs of depressed classes generally began to be formed in the last decade. There were seven such societies. Altogether there were 1,226 members of these societies, and their working is reported to be fairly successful. Amongst higher classes, there is a society for the Chandraseniya Prabhus

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of the City but the most noticeable organised effort on these lines was observed in respect of Audich Brahmans of Unjha, which was begun in 1925, as a sort of *gol* (circle) of connubial villages to counteract the *kulinism* of the Sidhpur Audichas; but the society developed as a "better-living" organisation with nearly a thousand members. Over 11 lakhs in personal budgets of its members have been saved since its establishment in respect of expenditure on social ceremonies. A great number of social reforms, such as the raising of age of marriage, the discouragement of disparate marriages, the spreading of education and such like, have been effected. Owing to the severity of its money penalties, the society encountered some opposition at first, but the community has since appreciated its good work and on its side the society has learnt more wisdom and moderation in its dealings with delinquents. The Kadwa Patidar Kelavni Mandal was started in 1920, to give point to the reform movement amongst Kadwa Patidars. They organised themselves as an educational and social reform society—working for healthy activities and spreading decent social influences amongst its youth. They established a very successful boarding institution at Kadi with the object of combining manual training and knowledge of useful arts with a literary education. It roused considerable enthusiasm amongst its people and collected large funds. In 1929, with the active help of the State, it started a reform propaganda work with a paid staff of itinerant lecturers. Their main plank was the advocacy of adult marriages, child welfare, sanitation, prohibition of caste-feasts and other extravagances, and the dispelling of ignorance. This staff was further supplemented in vacations by batches of touring students, who worked in close co-operation with the authorities. Altogether 126 villages were visited in a year's work, and 423 addresses were given, sometimes with the aid of magic lanterns, to nearly 60,000 persons (including 19,000 women and 6,000 children). Eight pamphlets were issued and broadcasted throughout the *prant* and the monthly organ "Chetan" ably supplemented these activities. As a result of these lectures, etc., in 13 villages public opinion vowed itself to persevere in the reforms and 9 *seva mandals* were established in other centres and older organisations were revived with new life.

414. Caste and Democracy—From these activities one sees proofs how caste, even on its old basis, is subserving the ends of patriotism. It has been already emphasised that caste is like nationality, in binding different races together although it does this in different ways. Wherever, as in the higher classes, its hold and organisation have become feeble, there intellectualist tendencies are utilising the cloak of caste to serve the purpose of consolidation. Brahmans are in this respect weaker in organisation in Gujarat than elsewhere in India. But the Vania has become the representative custodian of commercial interests. The greatest advance however is in the direction of consolidation of agrarian interests under the Patidar which is fast developing into a national caste. The movement against *kulinism* amongst Patidars has indeed grown apace, *gols* have multiplied, and the area from which *kulins* can take brides by selling themselves, has become more and more restricted. But that apart, latitude in respect of caste has become wider and more loose. The hunt for brides in Kathiawad has become more insistent; and I am informed the taking out of brides from the *kulin* fold has been designedly encouraged by these *gols* themselves. There is thus a tendency to democratise castes and this is inevitable when caste organisations insist on spreading education, which is the "sledge hammer of democracy." The caste *punchayat* has thus become the most primary form of representative institutions in India. There is no wonder therefore that the Patidar, by his special insistence on the paramount importance of his interests, has utilised his new opportunities by capturing through the ballot box more than his due share of seats in district boards and other representative bodies, as will be seen from marginal table. Patidars constitute only one-fifth of the population and yet they have secured more than half of the seats. But this has been achieved, it must be added, without much feeling however on the part of the non-represented sections. Brahmans and Vanias have begun however to feel "raw" on losing their old monopoly in these matters; artisan groups are now resenting the social ascendancy of Patidars in the villages; while the "uppishness" of the so-called untouchable is passing into a proverb:

Name of Prant	No. of electors	No. of elective seats	Number of seats held by		
			Patidars	Brahmans and Vanias	Rest
State	**155,021**	**102**	**53**	**26**	**23**
Amreli	13,403	12	6	1	5
Baroda	57,689	27	16	6	5
Mehsana	65,778	34	26	3	5
Navsari	15,562	19	5	10	4
Okhamandal	2,589	10	..	6	4

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" Dev gaya dūngré, Pir gayā Makké,
Angrajnā Rājmān Dhed mure dhākké."

" The gods have gone to the hills, the saints to Mecca :
Under English rule, the Dhedas knock us and slap us.

415. Caste and Nationality—That brings us to the final question : what will be the reactions of caste in a place like Gujarat where it is still strongly entrenched, on the new opportunities which are unfolding themselves ? In 1921, I wondered, whether in the future, in an era of new opportunities, " caste will adapt itself to new conditions and be content to remain as it were, the ' election agent ' of the new democracy."* But since then events have moved rapidly. The press of political stimuli together with the general urge for self-expression has released powerful forces which had hitherto been held in leash by the social discipline of elders. We have mentioned the increasing measure of democracy in caste movements. But the institution itself has been undermined mainly in three ways. The pressure of population on the land has driven multitudes of landless manual workers to herd in towns. This has resulted in enforced mixing of all sorts and classes in industrial groups and under factory conditions. Caste restrictions of commensality and exclusive living have been therefore considerably relaxed in towns. Intermarriage between different castes,—" a wanton practice", as one of my correspondents called it with severe austerity—has hitherto been prevented, but restrictions even here are breaking down through love marriages or illicit unions. Secondly, dissatisfaction with the traditional calling has thrown on the market thousands of men and forced them to take to occupations for which they have had no ancestral bent. Thus the Patidar has become a cooly for unloading of cargo in ports and harbours, while the Brahman has taken to tanning. The Vania has become a motor mechanic, while even the Bhangi has contributed his humble quota to the teaching profession. This tendency has become a potent influence for disintegrating caste restrictions. Thirdly the desire of inferior orders to claim kinship, and even adopt, the names of higher castes, has become a very powerful movement within recent years. So many have clamoured for the Rajput name, that it is doubtful whether even high-born Rajputs can now much enthuse over their own traditions. The incursion of Valands, Sutars, Sonars and Luhars into the exclusive Brahman fold can only result in a *reductio ad absurdum* of the caste system and of its immemorial dignity, " just as the creation of a large number of peers must inevitably reduce the prestige of the House of Lords."† If these disintegrating influences become still more powerful in the future, as it is inevitable that they will, castes will no longer be the mainspring of the Indian party system. In themselves they will be no more inimical to national fusion than are trade unions. They will simply help to resolve, by adapting new political institutions, Indian society into horizontal divisions, rather more rigid perhaps in the beginning than their prototypes in modern European countries. Judged in that view, the development of caste is decidedly in the direction of nationality, while its anti-social features are being overthrown, or at least controlled, by a genuine movement in social service, literature and art throughout Hinduism, giving definite evidence of its

" . . . ability to rise to the heights which the new political forms will demand. In recent years, the cry ' Back to Hinduism ' has not meant a return to the old *dolce far niente* ; it has meant the extraction from Hinduism of powers latent in it but hitherto dormant. It is the demand for Hinduism to stand on its own legs, the demand for action and positive service. The wonderful results that have already shown themselves in the very short period of active Hindu nationalism leads one to hope that, with the attainment of a self-reliant manhood, Hinduism may have many more good things to give."‡

Caste has in its possession a richly stored experience, developed through centuries, of organised collective action, of mutual help, social discipline and co-existent tolerance. It is believed that it will bring these qualities to the aid of the new political order, when it begins to function. Even though the future seems dark at the moment of writing, this Report may well end on this note of hope and optimism.

* Baroda Census Report of 1921, page 341.
† G. T. Garratt, *An Indian Commentary*, page 20.
‡ R. N. Gilchrist, *Indian Nationality*, page 137.

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

No. of Group	Group and Caste	Strength
1	2	3
I	*Landholders and cultivators* ..	670,543 *274* *
	Anavala Brahman	11,818
	Anjana Chaudhari	38,459
	Kachhia	8,156
	Kasbati	2,852
	Kadwa Patidar	219,161
	Karadia	8,745
	Lewa Patidar	226,871
	Malek	11,206
	Molesalam (Hindu and Muslim).	10,881
	Momna (Hindu and Muslim) ..	16,128
	Pathan	15,884
	Sathawara	6,550
	Shaikh (Hindu and Muslim) ..	26,304
	Sindhi	4,602
	Vohra (Agricultural)	16,646
	Others	46,280
II	*Military and Dominant*	118,014 *48*
	Kathi	3,525
	Maratha Kshatriya	12,164
	Rajput	94,893
	Vagher	5,175
	Others	2,257
III	*Labourers (including agricultural)*	425,826 *174*
	Baria	103,775
	Chunvalia	8,185
	Gola (Rice-pounders)	6,209
	Patanwadia	20,778
	Talabda	59,566
	Thakarda	190,195
	Others	37,118
IV	*Forest and Hill Tribes*	312,181 *128*
	Bhil	54,542
	Chodhra	38,786
	Dhanka	3,457
	Dhodia	26,132
	Dubla	12,894
	Gamit	59,213
	Kokna	7,952
	Nayakda	11,802
	Talavia	52,565
	Vasawa	17,527
	Others	27,311
V	*Graziers and Dairymen*	71,171 *29*
	Ahir	6,537
	Bharwad (including Rabari) ..	64,378
	Dhangar	256
VI	*Fishermen, Boatmen and Palkhi Bearers.*	12,521 *5*
	Bhoi	4,765
	Bhadela	1,908
	Dhimar	167
	Machhi	5,681
VII	*Hunters and Fowlers*	35,805 *15*
	Vaghri	35,805

No. of Group	Group and Caste	Strength
1	2	3
VIII	*Priests and Devotees*	141,649 *58*
	Audich Brahman	45,222
	Bava	3,358
	Deshastha Brahman	5,713
	Fakir	6,405
	Garoda	7,796
	Gosain	14,064
	Mewada Brahman	5,075
	Modh Brahman	9,039
	Nagar Brahman	8,096
	Other Brahman	27,201
	Saiyad	9,690
IX	*Temple servants*	6,334 *3*
	Aboti Brahman	264
	Tapodhan Brahman	6,070
X	*Genealogists, Bards and Astrologers*	17,202 *7*
	Barot	4,505
	Brahmabhat	10,086
	Hindu Charan	2,611
XI	*Writers*	5,277 *2*
	Brahmakshatri	1,313
	Kayastha	465
	Prabhu	3,499
XII	*Musicians, Singers, Dancers, Mimes, Jugglers and Drummers.*	36,604 *15*
	Ravalia	27,614
	Targala	4,902
	Others	4,088
XIII	*Traders and Peddlars*	128,439 *53*
	Dishawal Vania	7,215
	Lad Vania	7,798
	Luhana	13,597
	Memon	8,071
	Porwad Vania	7,867
	Shrimali Vania	34,172
	Vohra (Trading)	11,709
	Others	37,110
XIV	*Carriers by Pack Animals* ..	1,023 *0*
	Vanjara	1,023
XV	*Barbers*	29,164 *12*
	Muslim Hajam	1,129
	Valand (including Nayee Brahman).	28,035
XVI	*Washermen*	3,111 *1*
	Dhobi (Hindu and Jain) ..	2,672
	Dhobi (Muslim)	439

* The number shown in italics below the total strength of each group indicates the proportion per mille to the total population.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—*concld.*

CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

No. of Group	Group and Caste	Strength
1	2	3
XVII	*Weavers, Carders and Dyers* ..	127,860
		52
	Bhavsar	5,876
	Pinjara	4,764
	Vankar (including Dhed) ..	107,988
	Others	9,232
XVIII	*Tailors*	15,763
		7
	Darji	15,763
XIX	*Carpenters*	27,617
		11
	Sutar	24,290
	Others	3,327
XX	*Masons*	3,027
		1
	Kadia Kumbhar	1,946
	Salat	1,081
XXI	*Potters and Brick Layers* ..	51,893
		21
	Kumbhar (Hindu)	50,996
	Kumbhar (Muslim)	897
XXII	*Blacksmiths*	21,062
		9
	Luhar	21,062
XXIII	*Goldsmiths and Silversmiths* ..	13,326
		6
	Sonar	1,149
	Soni	12,177
XXIV	*Brass and Coppersmiths* ..	2,159
		1
	Kansara	2,159
XXV	*Confectioners and Grain Parchers.*	410
		0
	Bhadbhunja	410

No. of Group	Group and Caste	Strength
1	2	3
XXVI	*Oil-Pressers*	21,744
		9
	Ghanchi (Hindu)	14,300
	Ghanchi (Muslim)	7,426
	Teli	18
XXVII	*Toddy Drawers and Distillers* ..	1,871
		1
	Bhandari	265
	Kalal	1,606
XVIII	*Butchers*	117
		0
	Kasai	117
XXIX	*Leather Workers*	55,476
		23
	Chamar	42,802
	Mochi	10,598
	Others	2,076
XXX	*Basket and Net Makers*	540
		0
	Burud, etc., Mang ; Pomla ..	540
XXXI	*Earth Salt, etc., workers and quarriers.*	8,717
		4
	Kharva	6,699
	Od	2,018
XXXII	*Village watchmen and menials* ..	10,904
		4
	Shenva	9,643
	Others	1,261
XXXIII	*Sweepers*	31,018
		13
	Bhangi	31,018
XXXIV	*The Rest*	34,639
		14
	Christians	7,262
	Zoroastrians	7,127
	Others	20,250

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II-A

Number of Group	Lists of Castes included under "Others"
1	2
I	Brahman—Karhada ; Kanbi—Maratha, Konkani and miscellaneous ; Patidar—Matia, Uda ; Makwana : Mali ; Tamboli Thakor (Pardeshi) ; Khokhar ; Mughal.
II	Arab ; Behlim ; Gurkha and Jat.
III	Bajania ; Gola (Khavas) ; Koli—Gedia and Bhalia ; Khant ; Baloch.
IV	Bavcha ; Kolgha ; Kotwalia ; Mavchi ; Tadvi ; Kathodia ; Valvi ; Varli ; Raniparaj unspecified and Raniparaj (Hindu Arya).
VIII	Brahman—Gauda Sarswat including Shenvi ; Gugali ; Jambu ; Konkanastha ; other Brahman.
XII	Bharthari ; Grandhrap ; Gurav ; Holar ; Turi ; Vadi ; Dadhi ; Thori.

Number of Group	Lists of Castes included under "Others"
1	2
XIII	Bhatia ; Brahman—Khedawal ; Vania—Jharola, Kapol, Khadayata, Mewada, Modh, Nagar, Oswal, Umad, Other Vania ; Dudhwala ; Khoja ; Bhojak (Jain).
XVII	Khatri ; Mahar ; Vanza ; Tai.
XIX	Kumbhar Sutaria ; Sutar—Luhar including Luhar—Sutar.
XXIX	Dabgar ; Khatki.
XXXII	Makrani ; Nadia.
XXXIV	Hijda ; Kamalia ; Kasar ; Sagar ; Sarania ; Caste—not returned and minor Castes ; Depressed Classes (Aryas) ; Indian (Arya) Pagi (Arya) ; Arya unspecified ; Muslim unspecified.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Variation in Main Castes, Tribes and Races

Caste.	Persons				Percentage variation increase (+) decrease (—)			Net Variation 1901 to 1931	
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1921 to 1931	1911 to 1921	1901 to 1911	Absolute	Per cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hindu, Jain and Tribal ..									
Ahir	6,537	5,413	5,182	4,316	+20.8	+ 4.5	+20.1	+2,221	+51.5
Anjana Chaudhari ..	38,459	32,760	30,920	32,532	+17.4	+ 6.0	— 5.0	+5,927	+18.2
Baria, Khant and Makwana	128,025	90,446	71,013	44,055	+29.6	+40.0	Makwana figures not for	available 1901	
Bharwad-Babari ..	64,378	58,391	53,405	46,670	+10.3	+ 9.1	+14.4	+17,708	+37.9
Bhavsar	5,876	5,677	5,689	7,378	+ 3.5	— 0.2	—22.9	— 1,502	—20.4
Bhoi	4,705	3,873	4,079	4,127	+23.0	— 5.0	— 1.2	+ 638	+15.5
Brahman (all)	*123,714*	*113,871*	*113,245*	*133,904*	*+ 8.6*	*+0.55*	*—18.4*	*—15,190*	*—10.9*
Anavala	11,818	10,751	9,916	10,882	+ 9.9	+ 8.4	— 8.7	+ 936	+ 8.6
Audich	45,222	40,475	40,679	41,497	+11.7	— 0.5	— 2.0	+ 3,725	+ 9.0
Deshastha	5,713	4,933	6,464	5,694	+15.8	—23.7	—13.6	+ 19	+ .3
Modh	9,039	8,536	8,800	9,578	+ 5.9	— 3.0	— 8.1	— 439	— 4.6
Nagar	8,096	7,713	7,990	8,144	+ 5.0	— 3.5	— 8.1	— 48	— .6
Tapodhan	6,070	5,039	4,465	4,740	+20.5	+12.9	— 5.8	+ 1,330	+28.1
Darji	15,763	14,318	13,277	14,023	+10.1	+ 7.5	— 5.3	+ 1,740	+12.4
Depressed Classes (all) ..	*203,043*	*176,902*	*174,480*	*166,740*	*+14.7*	*+ 1.4*	*+ 4.6*	*+36,303*	*+21.7*
Bhangi	31,018	27,548	26,307	24,011	+12.7	+ 4.4	+ 9.9	+ 7,027	+29.3
Chamar-Khalpa ..	42,802	35,147	32,210	29,746	+21.8	+ 9.1	+ 8.3	+13,056	+43.9
Garoda	7,796	6,570	6,281	5,919	+18.7	+ 4.6	+ 6.1	+ 1,877	+31.7
Shenva	9,843	6,072	7,587	5,209	+58.8	—20.0	+45.7	+ 4,414	+85.1
Vankar-Dhed	107,988	99,627	99,798	99,527	+ 8.4	— 0.2	— 0.3	+ 8,461	+ 7.8
Dhimar	167	2,040	5,410	....	—91.8	—62.3	....	....	....
Ghanchi	14,300	12,338	11,867	12,211	+15.9	+ 4.0	— 2.8	+ 2,089	+17.1
Gola (Rice pounder) ..	6,209	5,223	5,210	5,660	+18.9	+ 0.3	— 8.0	+ 549	+ 9.7
Gosain and Bava ..	17,422	15,728	16,081	15,097	+10.8	— 2.2	+ 6.5	+ 2,325	+15.4
Kachhia-Khambhar ..	8,155	7,434	8,029	8,855	+ 9.7	— 7.4	— 9.3	— 700	— 7.9
Kadwa Patidar	219,181	188,691	172,336	175,564	+16.2	+ 9.5	— 1.8	+43,497	+24.8
Karadia	8,745	7,112	5,974	6,456	+23.0	+19.0	— 7.5	+ 2,289	+35.5
Koli Patanwadia Thakarda and Allied ..	239,411	215,395	218,413	234,370	+10.7	— 1.4	— 6.8	+ 4,941	+ 1.7
Kumbhar	50,996	43,029	41,693	41,305	+18.5	+ 3.2	+ 0.7	+ 9,601	+23.2
Lewa Patidar	226,871	195,183	184,810	171,223	+16.2	+ 5.6	+ 7.9	+75,638	+44.2
Luhana	13,597	11,833	11,588	10,461	+14.9	+ 2.1	+10.8	+ 3,136	+30.0
Luhar (Lavar) ..	21,092	19,160	19,212	19,052	+ 9.9	— 0.3	+ 0.8	+ 2,001	+10.5
Machhi and Kharva ..	12,380	8,937	2,542	9,825	+38.5	+251.5	—74.1	+ 2,555	+26.0
Maratha Kshatriya Kunbi and Konkani ..	17,007	16,564	17,813	17,392	+ 2.6	— 7.0	+ 2.4	— 385	— 2.2
Mochi	10,598	8,882	8,715	8,593	+19.3	+ 1.9	+ 1.4	+ 2,005	+23.3
Primitive and Forest Tribes (all)	*312,051*	*258,447*	*246,926*	*190,462*	*+20.7*	*+ 4.6*	*+29.6*	*+121,589*	*+63.8*
Bhil	54,542	43,667	41,836	37,650	+24.9	+ 4.4	+11.1	+16,892	+50.2
Chodhra	38,786	32,841	31,366	23,324	+18.1	+ 4.7	+34.5	+15,462	+66.3
Dhanka	3,457	7,610	18,667	5,524	—54.6	—59.2	+237.9	— 2,067	—37.4
Dhodia	26,132	21,341	20,487	15,861	+22.5	+ 4.2	+29.2	+10,271	+64.6
Dubla	12,894	31,307	40,976	28,492	—58.8	—23.6	+43.8	—15,598	—54.8
Gamit	59,213	51,974	49,615	38,169	+13.9	+ 4.8	+30.0	+21,044	+55.1
Kokna	7,952	6,762	6,451	3,646	+23.3	+ 4.8	+76.9	+ 4,306	+118.1
Nayakda	11,802	8,672	10,030	6,970	+36.1	+13.6	+43.9	+ 4,832	+69.3
Tadvi	20,817	14,156	24	8,435	+47.1	+58883.3	—99.7	+12,382	+146.8
Talavia	52,565	20,527	9,647	12,551	+156.1	+112.8	—23.1	+40,014	+318.8
Vasawa	17,527	13,610	10,951	2,383	+28.8	+24.3	+359.6	+15,144	+635.5
Rajput	94,893	79,308	64,228	59,414	+19.7	+23.5	+ 8.1	+35,479	+59.7
Raval (Ravalia)	27,614	23,018	22,484	20,089	+15.5	+ 6.4	+12.2	+ 7,525	+37.8
Sathwara	6,550	5,771	5,830	5,362	+13.5	— 1.0	+ 8.7	+ 1,188	+22.2
Soni	12,177	10,933	10,120	10,818	+11.4	+20.0	— 6.4	+ 1,357	+12.5
Sutar	24,290	22,368	20,719	22,585	+ 8.6	+ 8.0	— 8.3	+ 1,705	+ 7.6
Talabda	59,566	72,700	91,527	36,229	—18.1	—20.5	+147.1	+23,337	+64.4
Targala and Bhojak ..	5,242	4,594	4,815	4,817	+14.1	— 4.5	—0.04	+ 425	+ 8.7
Vagher	5,175	3,718	4,277	4,306	+39.2	—13.1	— 0.7	+ 869	+20.2
Vaghri	35,895	30,659	28,129	23,264	+17.1	+ 9.0	+20.9	+12,541	+53.9
Valand (including Nayee Brahman)	28,035	25,569	24,838	24,878	+ 9.6	+ 2.9	+ 0.2	+ 3,157	+12.7
Vania (all)	*86,477*	*78,457*	*78,618*	*87,370*	*+10.2*	*— 0.2*	*+10.2*	*— 893*	*— 1.0*
Dishawal	7,215	6,358	6,145	7,461	+13.5	+ 3.5	—17.6	— 246	— 3.3
Lad	7,798	8,558	8,500	8,556	— 8.9	+ 0.7	— 0.7	— 758	— 8.9
Porwad	7,867	6,296	8,613	9,500	+24.9	—26.9	— 9.3	— 1,633	—17.2
Shrimali	34,712	29,085	31,965	27,415	+17.5	— 9.0	+16.6	+ 6,757	+24.7
Muslim (all)	*182,630*	*162,328*	*160,887*	*165,014*	*+12.5*	*+ .9*	*— 2.5*	*+17,616*	*+10.6*
Fakir	6,495	4,846	4,639	4,725	+34.0	+ 4.5	— 1.8	+ 1,770	+37.5
Ghanchi	7,428	4,070	4,614	3,929	+82.5	—11.8	+17.4	+ 3,497	+88.9
Kashati and Sipahi ..	2,852	2,049	7,103	....	+39.2	—71.1	....	....	....
Malek	11,206	7,839	7,519	8,888	+43.0	+ 4.3	—16.3	+ 2,218	+24.7
Memon	8,971	13,871	13,540	7,607	—35.3	+ 2.5	+78.0	+ 1,364	+17.9
Molesalam (including Rathod and Parmar) ..	10,862	10,651	9,116	10,140	+ 1.9	+16.8	—10.0	+ 722	+ 7.1
Momna	13,829	7,092	7,183	12,153	+95.0	— 1.3	—40.9	+ 1,676	+13.8
Pathan	15,884	13,500	16,307	11,402	+17.7	—17.2	+43.0	+ 4,482	+39.3
Pinjara	4,764	4,473	5,409	4,217	+ 6.5	—17.3	+28.2	+ 547	+13.0
Saiyad	9,590	8,916	8,772	7,295	+ 7.6	— 1.6	+20.3	+ 2,295	+31.5
Shaikh	26,073	26,854	31,510	22,416	— 2.9	—14.8	+40.6	+ 3,657	+16.3
Vohra (Trading and Agricultural)	28,355	26,455	25,035	25,372	+ 7.2	+ 5.7	— 1.3	+ 2,983	+11.8
Indian Christian	*7,064*	*7,274*	*6,962*	*7,461*	*— 2.9*	*+ 4.5*	*— 6.7*	*— 397*	*— 5.3*
Parsi	*7,127*	*7,530*	*7,955*	*8,409*	*— 5.4*	*— 5.3*	*— 4.2*	*— 1,282*	*—15.3*

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APPENDIX IX

A GLOSSARY OF CASTES, TRIBES AND RACES

(*Vide* IMPERIAL TABLE XVII OF THE CENSUS OF 1931)

NOTE.—(1) Names printed in black capitals as **BHARWAD** are those of the main castes, the distribution of which by districts is given in Imperial Table XVII. The figures entered in brackets after each name show the total strength of the caste or sub-caste. Names printed in black capitals and lower case are those of sub-castes or tribes or sub-classes, *e.g.*, **Abotis,** etc., included under a general head like **ASCETICS, BRAHMANS, DEPRESSED CLASSES,** etc.

(2) When there are Musalman castes like those of Hindus, they are shown separately below the Hindu caste names, and are marked with an asterisk ; but when there are only a few Musalmans or Hindus, following a particular trade, their number only is shown separately in brackets after the name of the Hindu or Musalman main caste, *e.g.*, Dhobi (H. 2656, M. 439).

(3) The sub-castes noted are only those found in the State. Outside the State, some castes have additional sub-castes also.

(4) This glossary was first compiled for the Baroda Census of 1911 by Rao Bahadur Govindbhai H. Desai, from a variety of materials of which the Gujarat Population Volume (Vol. IX) of the Bombay Presidency Gazetteer of 1901 was the chief. Since then, Enthoven's Tribes and Castes of Bombay appeared in three volumes late in 1920. In the Census of 1921, this work was utilised to a small extent in the Caste chapter of the Report of that year. For this census, a thorough revision of the Caste Glossary in the light of these new materials was deemed necessary. This has been done : figures of the latest census have been used. Unimportant entries have been omitted. Where modifications were deemed necessary they have been freely made. The authorities above quoted have been largely drawn upon. The Notes on Brahman, Depressed Classes, etc. are almost entirely based on them. Entries have been rearranged and grouped on a new plan. An attempt has been made to bring the Glossary up-to-date with due regard to economy of space and lucidity of treatment.

ABOTI—See under Brahman—Aboti.

AHIR (6,537)—Cattle-breeders, found chiefly in Kathiawad. According to Manu, they are sprung from a Brahman and an Ambastha or Vaidya woman. According to the Brahman Puran, from a Kshatriya father and a Vaishya mother ; according to the Bhagavat Puran, from Vaishya parents, and according to an old tradition, from a Rajput slave girl and a Vaishya slave.

They claim to be Vaishyas but are regarded by Brahmans as Shudras. They were once a ruling class, and, like the Ahirs of the United Provinces, claim Krishna's brithplace, Mathura, as their first seat. Some of their surnames are the same as Rajput tribe names, *e.g.*, Chavda, Chudasama, Gohel, Goria, Pithia, Ravalia, Sisodia, etc. The men wear a black and white headdress like the Mers, a short puckered jacket and light ankled trousers of hard woven cotton like Bharvads. The women are easily known by their coarse free hanging blanket shawls, pink cotton skirt and smooth flattered anklets. They have given up cattle-breeding and, except a few who are carpenters, live as husbandmen. They reverence *Tulsishyam* (Lakshmi and Krishna) and a number of local goddesses. Their ordinary food is like that of Vanias and Kanbis, millet bread, pulse, milk and vegetable, but they can eat mutton, venison and other game but not beef. Children are betrothed at any age and married between twelve and fifteen. Like Rabaris, they celebrate their marriages every year on one fixed day. Among them it is usual for the younger brother to marry his elder brother's widow. The caste has a headman who, with a committee of the caste, settles all disputes. Breaches of castes rules are punished with fine, and eating with forbidden persons by excommunication.

The name Ahir is a corruption of the Sanskrit Abhira. The Baroda Ahir belonging to the Gujarat section differs from his Deccani congeners. In regard to the Gujarati section, it is necessary to assume that they were originally of one tribe, and are still without exogamous subdivisions, except families bearing the same surname. The endogamous groups are of the territorial type : (*i*) Machhua from the river Machhu near Morvi, (*ii*) Pranthalia near Vagad, (*iii*) Boricha in Kanthi, (*iv*) Sorathia in South Kathiawad, etc. A further division is according as they live in settled communities in towns, etc., or are nomadic in character migrating from

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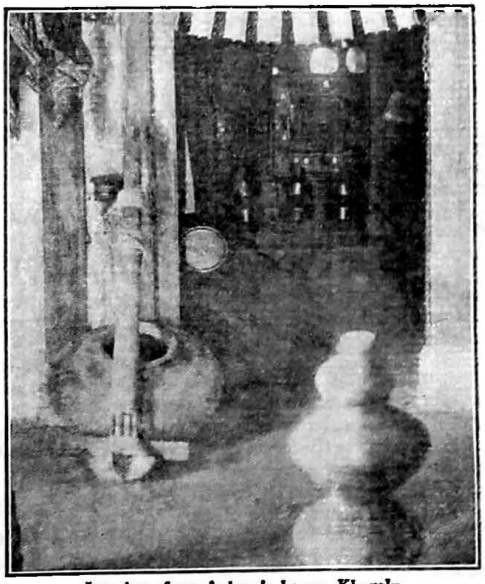
nes to *nes* (as their temporary hamlets are called). The attempt to connect the Ahirs with the Scythians, like that other attempt to trace the Gujars to Khizars, is now discredited by latest Indian scholarship. The Ahirs belonged to the great pastoral section of the Aryan race.

ANAVALA—See under Brahman—Anavala.

ANJANA CHAUDHARI (38,459)—A caste of cultivators mainly found in the Mehsana district. They are more like Rajputs than Kanbis, and to distinguish themselves from the latter style themselves *Chaudharis* (from Skt. *Chaturdhurin*, lord of the four directions). Like Rajputs some of their names end in *sing* as Dansing, Harising, etc. There are among them 23 clans who eat together and intermarry. Some of these clan names are Rathod, Solanki, Chohan and Parmar. Unlike other Kanbis, Anjanas eat flesh of sheep and goats and of the wild boar and hare. They eat opium and drink liquor. Most of the males wear flowing whiskers divided by a narrow parting down the chin. In pre-British days they were martial in their bearing and as ready as Rajputs to use force in defending their cattle and crops. They have now settled down to quiet and orderly ways. But they have not yet taken kindly to education and rank low in literacy. By occupation they are cultivators. Their women help them in the field work. In religion they are Ramanuji, Shaiva and Swaminarayan. Their priests are Audich, Mewada, Modh and Visnagara Nagar Brahmans. Their customs at birth, sixth day, marriage, pregnancy, and death do not differ from those of Lewa Patidars. Besides, they have faith in sorcery and witchcraft and in ordinary omens. Girls are married before 11 years old. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed. They have their headman, who in consultation with a few respectable castemen, settles divorce cases and caste disputes. The type of dwellings in which they live is rural, but characteristic of North Gujarat, with greater regard for seclusion of women and affording more protection against thieves and other criminals. In view of their Rajput affinities, their dwellings approach the pattern of their congeners. In front of the house, the *dehli* or covered entrance is the only shelter of the cattle. Rajput houses contain more furniture than other cultivators. There is the inevitable sword or matchlock. The quadrangle is larger. There is often an enclosing wall. Two illustrations showing the outer and inner portions of an Anjana's house in Kheralu are here given.

Exterior of an Anjana's house, Kheralu



Interior of an Anjana's house, Kheralu

ASCETICS (Vairagi, Bava, etc., 3,352 ; Sansari Gosains, 14,064 ; Fakir, 6,495.)—Under this head are detailed religious orders and classes of mendicants under Hinduism, Jainism and Islam.

A. HINDU

Hindu religious mendicants are of two varieties : (*i*) Sansāri and (*ii*) Vairagis.

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Generally known as Gosains and Bavas, these mendicants when they definitely renounce the world, become known as Sadhus. The Sansăris marry and adopt the normal life of householders.

Gosains—Also called Atit. Those who are not Sansăris are further divided into two classes : *mathdharis*—celibates attached to some recognised *math* or monastery ; and *rakhadta*, wandering and unattached mendicants. All Gosains are Shaivas and belong to ten sects—Gir, Parbat, Sagar, Puri, Bharthi, Van, Aram, Saraswati, Tirth and Ashram. They add the clan name to the personal name as Karangar, Hirapuri, Chanchalbharathi, etc. All of these clans have some of their members householders (Gharbaris) and others monks (Mathdharis). Among the Mathdharis, the *Guru Shishya Sampradaya* or succession from preceptor to disciple obtains. The appointment of a *chela* is made by tonsure (*mundan*) and covering him with *chadar*, which ceremony is followed by a feast to the members of the order, which is called *bhandaro*. Gosains are either entirely or partly clad in brown. Most of them are professional beggars. But among them some are bankers, merchants, state servants and soldiers. They do not wear the sacred tread and allow widow marriage.

The unattached variety are variously known as Bavas, Vairagis, or Sadhus. These are generally celibates. The name Vairagi, derived from *vi* (without) and *rag* (passion) is commonly reserved for Sadhus of the Vaishnavite order.

Sadhu—As a rule, ordinary Hindu Sadhus adopt a life of easy, irresponsible indolence and mendicancy. They know well how to time their wanderings so as to make them fit in with the festal event of each locality within their annual round. They are generally attired most scantily, and for protection from the sun's rays and insect pests, have their skin rubbed over with ashes. Most of them have on their foreheads and noses *tilaks* or neatly painted white or coloured sect marks. Irrespective of sect some called *Juttadharis* have their hair braided and coiled upon the anterior part of the crown of the head; some called *Bhoureeahs* wear their hair falling in disorder about the face ; while others have shaven pates. Most Sadhus wear strings of beads about their necks or carry rosaries in their hands. From the nature of the beads it is easy to distinguish between the followers of Vishnu or Shiva, according as they favour beads of the holy basil wood (*Ocynum sanctum*) or the rough berries of the *rudraksha* tree (*Elaecarpus ganitrus*). The Shiva rosary or *japmala* consists of 84 *rudraksha* beads and the Vaishnava one of 108 beads of *tulsi* (basil) wood. Some Sadhus were phallic emblems suspending from the neck by woollen threads ; some wear great wood or metal ear-rings ; and others wear armlets of iron, brass or copper which are well-known as badges of visits to the lofty Himalayan monasteries of Pasupatinath, Kedarnath and Badrinath. Some have a white conch tied on to their wrist, indicating a pilgrimage to Rameshwar and some have symbolical marks branded conspicuously upon the arm as evidence of a pilgrimage to Dwarka. Most of the Sadhus keep in their hand a pair of big iron fire-tongs. They use a wooden staff, called *bairagun* as a chin-rest or arm-rest and earthen pipes called *chillums* for smoking *ganja*. Some Sadhus keep with them miniature chapels with miniature stone or metal idols or pictorial representations of the deities, which are set up when they make a halt at any place.

As a part of their *tapascharya* or austerities, some Sadhus undergo many inconveniences, pains and sometimes even terrible tortures. Some called *panch dhuni* sit under the open sky girt about with five small fires ; sometimes only four fires are lighted, the sun overhead being regarded as the fifth one. Some sit and sleep on a bed of spikes, called *kanak saiya* ; some called *tharashri* stand leaning on some kind of rest for days or weeks together. Sadhus known as *urdhvamukhi* hang head downwards suspended from the bough of a tree for half an hour or more. Those known as *urdhvabahu* keep one or both of their arms erect over head till they are reduced to a shrunken and rigid condition. Some practise *ashtangdandvata*, that is, applying the eight parts of the body—the forehead, breast, hands, knees and insteps—to the ground and thus measuring the ground, go on a long pilgrimage by slow and laborious marches. Some called *jalshai* sit a whole night immersed in water. Some called *falahari*, live upon fruits, others called *dudhahari* subsist on milk alone, while those known as *aluna* never eat salt with their food. As aids to meditation, a great number of *asans* or postures, *e.g.*, *padmasan* or lotus posture, have been devised. Some Sadhus perform purificatory rites known as *neti karma*, drawing a thread through the mouth and one of the nostrils with the object of cleansing the nasal fossæ ; *dhoti karma* swallowing a long strip of cloth and after it has reached the stomach drawing it out again with the object of cleansing out the stomach ; *Brahma datan* cleansing the throat with a long and thin green stick used as a brush ; *brajot karma* and *ganesh kriya*, for flushing the colon without instrumental aid.

A Sadhu's anger and displeasure are much dreaded and avoided as far as possible. Some Sadhus are believed to have magic powers by which they can work wonders and cause calamities. Some are believed to be proficient in alchemy by which they can turn the baser metals into

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gold ; while some affect to be fortune-tellers, palmists, and expert medicine men and conversant with hidden treasures. Many a credulous or greedy devotee has lost his all and come to grief in seeking to become rich with the help of Sadhus.

Shaiva and Vaishnava Sadhus—The Sadhus usually met with in this State are : (1)—Shaiva :—(*a*) Brahmachari, (*b*) Sanyasi, (*c*) Dandi, (*d*) Yogi and (*e*) Paramhansa ; and (2)—Vaishnava :—(*a*) Ramanuji or Shri Vaishnava, (*b*) Ramanandi, (*c*) Ramasanehi and (*d*) Swaminarayan. Shaiva Sadhus while paying special honour to Shiva do not, as a rule, reject the other gods of the Hindu Pantheon. In the same way, Vaishnava Sadhus while specially adoring Vishnu in his human incarnations as Ramachandra or Krishna, either with or without their consorts, do not disregard Shiva altogether.

The class distinctions amongst Shaiva Sadhus represent gradations in the degree of asceticism.

Brahmacharis—Brahmacharis or celibates belong to an inferior ministering order. This order is said to have been created by Shankaracharya to serve as helps and companions to Sanyasis and Paramhansas. Brahmacharis also generally serve as worshippers in Mahadev or Mata temples, put on a red fisher-like cap on their head, and a necklace of *ruraksha* beads on their neck.

Sanyasi—All Hindus, even Shudras and out-castes may become Sanyasis. When after a period of probation the postulant wishes to be received as a *chela*, he has to bring an offering including a *tinga* and a *rudraksha* berry to the Sanyasi whose disciple he wishes to become. Four Sanyasis are required for the initiatory ceremony. The chief of the four, the selected *guru*, whispers into his ear the *mantra* of the order ; another confers a new name upon him, which generally ends as in respect of Gosains in one of the following ten suffixes :—Giri, Puri, Bharti, Ban, Auran, Parvat, Sagar, Tirth, Ashram and Saraswati ; the third rubs him over with ashes, and the fourth breaks his sacred thread if he have one, and cuts off his *shikha* or scalp-lock. After initiation, the *chela* is expected to serve his *guru* for a time in order to learn wisdom from him. When the period of probation is over, more ceremonies are performed including *shradh* or post-funeral rites of the new *Sanyasi*. When a Sanyasi dies, he is buried in a sitting posture facing east or north-east, with arms supported on a wooden rest called *bairagun*. As the followers of Shankar, though paying special honour to Shiva, do not reject the other gods of the Hindu Pantheon, the order of Sanyasi is a mixed one and has many Vaishnavas and even Tantries among its members. All Sanyasis may eat together and accept food from any Hindu. They rub ashes over their bodies, wear salmon coloured robes and a tiger skin if they can get one. They make sect marks on their forehead, wear a necklace of *rudraksha* berries or at least one such berry. The hair of their head and beard is allowed to grow freely. In their hands they carry a pair of iron tongs. Whenever they are seated they light a fire and smoke *ganja*.

Dandi—The Dandis, so called from the *danda*, or staff, which every member is required to carry, were originally recruited exclusively from the twice-born or sacred thread-bearing castes, but now any Hindu is allowed to join the order. He who wishes to become a Dandi fasts for three days. On the fourth day, there is a *havan* (sacrifice) after which he is shaved, head and all. He is then taken to a river or tank in which he is made to stand waist-deep in water, and take out his sacred thread. While in water, he receives the *mantra* of the order from his *guru* and also a new name which has for its suffix, *ashram*, *tirth*, *bharati* or *swami*, when he steps out of water, he is given the *dand*, a bamboo with six knots, and a piece of salmon coloured cloth attached to it and a gourd and is robed in five pieces of salmon coloured cotton cloth, one piece being wrapped round the head. Rules for his guidance in life are explained to him. They are to the effect that he must not touch fire, must take one meal a day, must get his food from the houses of Brahmans only and so on. He is further enjoined to preach to the people and to practise virtue. Dandis shave their head, upper lip and beard. As a distinctive feature, they bear the Shiva mark on their forehead, *viz.*, the *tripundra*, a triple transverse line made with ashes obtained from the fire of an Agnihotri Brahman. A Dandi is not required to worship any god, but some worship Shiva and also Vishnu as Narayan. They repeat initiatory mantras *Om Namah Shivaya*; salutation to Shiva and *Namo Narayan*, salutation to Narayan. Some Dandis worship the deity *Nirgun Niranjaya*, that is, devoid of attributes or passion. Dandis are either buried or thrown into some river when they die.

Yogi—Yogi or Jogi, as they are called in the vernacular properly means one who practises *Yoga* with the object of uniting his soul with the Divine Spirit. The word *Yoga* means union and *Yoga Vidya* is the complex system of philosophical doctrines and practical exercises for promoting union between the individual soul and the divine spirit. The *Yoga* philosophy founded by Patanjali teaches that by certain practices a man is able to obtain complete mastery over matter. These practices are *pranayams* or long continued suppression of breath and 84

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different ways of fixing the eyes on the tip of the nose. It has recently attracted much attention in the west and the United States of America. *Yoga* is not confined at present to Yogis alone, nor is it practised by all who are known as Yogis. Many a religiously-disposed layman and follower of other sects resorts to it when so inclined. Yogis regard one Gorakhnath as the founder of their order. They pay special respect to Shiva, a demi-god called Bhairava and nine *Nathas* or immortal saints. They also hold in special veneration 84 *Siddhas* or perfect Yogis, some of whom are believed to be still living upon the earth. Members of all castes may become Yogis. They are divided into several sub-orders, of which the two more prominent are *Kanfati* and *Oghar*. They wear rosaries of *rudraksha* beads and put on *langotis*, or loin cloth only and sometimes salmon coloured garments. They wear their hair plaited with threads of black wool and coiled on the top of the head. They mark their forehead with a traverse line of ashes and also smear the body with ashes. They live in monasteries and often move about the country in groups or singly. They bury their dead in a sitting posture facing the north. The *Kanfatis* wear huge wooden ear-rings (*mudra*) and their sect names end in *Nath*. The *Oghars* have names ending in *das* and are recruited from the lowest of castes. They do not wear ear-rings but keep a small wooden pipe, called *nath* suspending from the neck by a black thread.

Yogis returned to a wordly life have formed castes in Gujarat which are known as Jogi, Ravalia, or Bharthari. They live as itinerant beggars, common carriers, tape-weavers and day-labourers. Those of them who are beggars carry a small fiddle with them and sing religious songs and verses in the streets.

Paramahansa—Paramahansa, derived from Sanskrit *param*, great, and *hansa*, a swan which can separate water from milk, means one who can distinguish truth from falsehood. The order of *Paramahansa* ranks higher than that of Sanyasi or Dandi. Only those Dandis or Sanyasis who have undergone a probation for not less than twelve years can be admitted to it. Paramahansas occupy themselves solely with the investigation of the supreme Brahma, without regard to pleasure or pain, heat or cold, satiety or want. In proof of their having attained this ideal perfection, they move about in all weathers and sometimes do not speak even to indicate any natural want. Some members of this order even go about naked or affect to live without food, or eat only when fed by others. Some refuse food unless they are fed by a *Kumarika* (maiden) with her own hand. Paramahansas are buried when dead or floated in a running stream.

Aghori—Shiva ascetics called *Aghori* or Aghorpanthi are seldom seen in towns and villages, but a few are said to be living on the Abu, Girnar and Pavagadh hills. The Aghoris seem originally to have been worshippers of Devi and to have required even human victims for their rites. They are hideous in appearance and their habits are very repulsive. They eat human flesh which they procure secretly from the graves in the villages they pass through. They push in pantheistic doctrines of the Vedant philosophy to its logical conclusion by arguing that if anything in existence is only a manifestation of the Universal soul, nothing can be unclean. Aghoris are much dreaded by the people, and sometimes impostors succeed in extracting alms from them by threatening to eat in their presence disgusting offal or foul carrion.

Vaishnav Sadhus—All Sadhus of the Vaishnav sect devote themselves especially to the worship of Vishnu and differ from one another mainly in paying adoration to him in his human incarnations either as Ramchandra or as Krishna. Rama worshippers may or may not associate Sita with their God. Krishna worshippers usually adore his consorts Laxmi and Radha or his mistress Radha alone along with the deity.

Shri Vaishnava—Ascetics of the Ramanuji sect are called *Shri Vaishnavas* because they worship Laxmi as the consort of Vishnu. They have monasteries in the Deccan, but occasionally reside in the Ramanuji temples at Baroda, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Sidhpur and other places in the State. They wear silk or wool garments and are scrupulous in keeping caste distinctions and in the preparation and privacy of their meals. Their necklaces and rosaries are made of *tulsi* wood or of lotus *seeds*. A novice is initiated with the name of Narayan or Vishnu. The special marks of the Ramanuja sect are a close shaven moustache, and Jai Sita Rama, as the salutation phrase; the disc or *chakra* and the conch or *shankh*, emblems of Vishnu, and vertical or slanting lines on the forehead of white clay, a perpendicular red streak for Laxmi in the middle, with a horizontal white clay line connecting the three across the root of the nose, the whole from one to two inches wide and representing Vishnu's throne.

Ramanandi—Ramanandi Sadhus bear on their foreheads the distinguishing Vishnu sect mark, the *trifala*, which consists of three upright lines; the centre one red and the side ones white. They also wear necklaces and rosaries of *tulsi* wood. Marriage is allowed among a division called *sanjogi* but forbidden to the division called *naga* or naked. The head *guru* who resides at Kheda in Jodhpur is enjoined to observe celibacy. The Nagas are divided into (1)

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Achari, (2) Sanyasi, (3) Khakhi, and (4) Vairagi. The Acharis wear silken and woollen garments, the Sanyasis salmon coloured cotton clothes, the Khakhis only a loin cloth with their bodies besmeared with ashes and their hair and nails unclipped. Some of them perform severe austerities such as standing on the head, sitting amidst fire and smoke, keeping their heads erect for hours together believing that the greater the self-inflicted severity, the greater the salvation.

Ramsanehi—Sadhus of the Ramsanehi sect live in their monasteries in Marwad and in their subordinate establishments in Baroda, Visnagar and other places. Among their rules of conduct, truthfulness, control over the passions, a solitary residence and begging readymade food from lay followers are enjoined. The use of fire or even a lamp at night is strictly forbidden and even the touch of a coin is held sinful. They rise and bathe at early dawn and wear an ochre coloured piece of cloth. Their forehead mark is of white *gopichandan* clay in shape like the flame of a lamp emblematic of divine light. They use a rosary of *ratanjal* or red sandal.

Kabir Panthi—Kabir Panthi Sadhus have no distinctive dress or ceremonies. As far as they affect peculiarities of any kind, they follow those of *bairagis* wearing *tulsi* beads and having the *trifala* painted on their foreheads.

Swaminarayan Ascetics—Swaminarayan ascetics are of three orders: *Brahmachari*, *Sadhu* and *Palo*. Brahmacharis rank the highest, after them come Sadhus, while the Palas who rank the lowest are mere attendants on the Acharya or head *guru* or temple servants.

Brahmachari—A Brahman follower of the sect who is prepared to lead a celibate life and dedicate himself to the service of the faith can be a *Brahmachari* after the probation of about a year. A Brahmachari wears a white *dhoti*, wraps an ochre coloured cloth round the upper part of his body and puts on a red woollen cap or *phenta* on his head. His duty is to read the Purans and other religious books, and to preach to those who visit the temples. Brahmacharis are allowed to use metal vessels for eating and drinking. They can also keep hair on the head and wear moustache and beard.

Sadhu—*Satsangis* or followers of the sect who are lower in rank than Brahmans, but not lower than Kanbis, can be Sadhus. A Sadhu must lead a celibate life and devote his full time to the service of the faith. He is required to shave his head, beard and moustache. He must put on an ochre coloured *dhoti*, wrap round his person another similarly coloured cloth, and put on a *falia* or head-dress of the same colour. Brahmacharis and Sadhus are prohibited from wearing coats, jackets or other tailor-made garments. A Sadhu must use wooden dish (*patra*) and a wooden jug (*kamandal*). He should on no account use metal vessels. Like the Brahmachari, he reads or preaches to the people. Swaminarayan Sadhus and Brahmacharis are not allowed to go out of the temples singly. They always move about in pairs or groups. At the headquarters, they live in monasteries; while moving in the district they live in the temples of the sect which are to be found in almost every village.

Palas—Like Brahmacharis and Sadhus, Palas also must lead a celibate life and devote themselves to the service of the faith. They are recruited from Koli, Rabari and other low castes. They are allowed to put on white garments and also to use shoes, and tailor-made coats. They serve as menials waiting upon the Acharya or as servants and managers of the temples. They are quite necessary in the organisation of the sacerdotal order of the sect, for only they can touch money or make the necessary purchases.

Daily Life—Brahmacharis, Sadhus and Palas rise early, offer prayers and attend the six o'clock meeting where the head Brahmachari or Sadhu delivers a sermon or reads from the Purans. They retire at nine o'clock and read or study till dinner time at eleven. They then meet at the temple, take a recess at two, reassemble at three and hold religious discourses till six in the evening. At night supper is served only to the weak or infirm and to those who wish to have it. The rest read sacred books and retire at eleven o'clock. Brahmacharis and Sadhus are forbidden to indulge in the pleasures of the palate. They are required to mix up the different viands together before eating. A Brahmachari or Sadhu may not even look at a woman. Should he touch one, even accidentally, he has to expiate for the sin by a whole day fast.

The distinguishing forehead mark of this sect is a vertical streak of *gopichandan* clay or sandal paste with a round red powder mark in the middle, and a necklet of sweet basil beads.

Dhed-na Sadhu—A class of ascetics exists amongst the Depressed Classes known as *Dhed-na Sadhu*. They are Vaishnavas by religion and are reckoned as spiritual preceptors of all the untouchable groups except Bhangis. They are mostly found in Dabhoi and Padra talukas. They are classed usually with Dhed (Vankar). Their social exchanges (of brides, etc.) are with the latter. According to their accounts they are found in 32 villages; and their

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total strength is about 150 houses. Mostly their occupation is as *gurus* : a few have taken to cultivation. They are better than other untouchables in economic condition. They are not celibates but live normal lives as householders of the Hindu lower classes. They have recently taken actively to education and shown gifts of leadership. A very small section of these call themselves Vairagis and have taken to mendicancy.

B. JAIN

Amongst the Jains there are three classes of ascetics—Sadhus, Sadhwis and Gorjis. Any person may become a Sadhu. The Sadhu wears only two pieces of *bhagva* or ochre coloured cotton cloth but no head-dress. He does not allow the hair of his head, moustaches or beard to grow. Except when enfeebled by age he does not shave, but after allowing his hair to grow for about six months, tears it out with his fingers or gets it clipped. He always carries his staff (*dand*) and (*ogho*) brush, and before he sits down, sweeps the ground to push insects away. He sleeps on a blanket and owns no property. He never kindles fire or cooks food for fear of killing any living thing, but begs cooked food from Shravaks. He enters those houses only whose doors are open, and on entering repeats the words *Dharma Labha* (acquisition of merit). The owner of the house lays before him *bhiksha* or cooked food. When he has gathered enough for a meal from the different houses, the Sadhu returns and eats at home. Drinking water is collected in the same way. During the fair season, Sadhus are forbidden to stay more than five days in the same village and more than a month in the same town. But they are allowed to pass at one place the rainy season, that is, the four months from Ashadh Sudi 14th to Kartik Sudi 14th. The Sadhu's chief duties are to study and teach the Jain Shastras and to keep the *panch maha vratas* or five main vows. They are to refrain from *pranatipat*, life taking ; *murkhavad*, lying ; *adattadan*, receiving anything without the knowledge of the owner ; *maithun*, sexual intercourse ; and *parigraha*, taking gifts not allowed by religious rules.

Sadhwis—Sadhwis or nuns are recruited from religious Shravak women. A Sadhwi wears one robe round the waist and another on the upper part of the body. Like the Sadhu, she tears out the hair of her head once in six months, carries *dand* and *ogho* and begs her meal and water.

Gorjis—A Gorji differs from a Sadhu in wearing white instead of red ochre clothes. Gorjis grow the moustache and hair of the head. Unlike Sadhus, Gorjis have no order of female Gorjis. Except a few who break the rules and cook rich food in their monasteries, Gorjis never cook but beg *bhiksha* like Sadhus. Any person may become a Gorji. At present most of them are sons of low-caste Hindus, or illegitimate children, who are brought up by *Gorjis*. For this reason, they have sunk in estimation. Gorjis practise sorcery and magic and prescribe medicine.

Shripujya—Sadhus and Sadhwis belong to no *gachha*. Gorjis and Shravaks are divided into *gachhas* or bodies. Each *gachha* has a spiritual head, called Shripujya, who is chosen from among the Gorjis of the same *gachha*, provided he was originally a Shravak or a Brahman. Shripujyas wear their hair and dress and beg in the same way as Gorjis, except that a Gorji sometimes brings his food and water for him with his own.

Initiation—There is little difference in the entrance ceremonies for Sadhus, Sadhwis or Gorjis. The person, who wishes to become a Sadhu, goes to a learned Sadhu, and bowing at his feet humbly asks him to take him as his pupil or *chela*. The Sadhu finds out that the parents and relations of the youth are willing that he should become a Sadhu, and that he has sufficient strength of body and mind to stand the fasting and other discipline laid down in the Jain scriptures. A lucky day is chosen for the initiatory ceremony. When the disciple is a man of means, the ceremony is performed at his expense. In other cases, the cost is contributed by the Shravak community, who are always pleased when additions are made to the number of their religious class. The ceremony is celebrated with the same pomp as a marriage. A procession starts from the house of the disciple, who is seated in a palanquin, with a cocoanut in his hand and passing through the principal streets. A female relation of the person to be initiated carries in her hand a *chhab* or bamboo basket with the articles required for the intended Sadhu. The procession passes outside of the town and stops below an *asopalo* (*Polyalthia longifolia*) tree, where the *guru*, who is awaiting the arrival of the procession, performs the initiatory ceremony. The Sadhus form a circle round the novice, and the laity stand behind. The novice puts off his old clothes except the waist cloth. He then plucks out the hair of his head or gets some one to do so, and puts on his new garments as a Sadhu. He is then given a new name, containing at least one letter of his original name. Camphor, musk, sandal, saffron and sugar are applied to his bare head, while the initiator repeats texts calling on him to

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observe with care the five prescribed vows, *panch maha vratas*. He is then supplied with the articles allowed to an ascetic by the Jain scriptures. They include five wooden pots or *patra*, in the shape of deep dishes, a *dand*, about five feet long, a *ogho* or brush, which, while walking is carried under the left armpit and is used to sweep the ground. The ceremony is completed by the guru throwing *vas khep* or fragrant powder on the head of the new ascetic as he passes. He does not return to the town, but passes the night in the neighbouring village or in a rest-house outside the town. He comes back next morning and stays in the *apasara* or monastery.

C. MUSLIM

Fakir—Under Islam, come the different tribes or brotherhoods of religious beggars known as Fakirs. Almost all begging communities lead a roving life. Those of Gujarat origin however limit themselves to the province and seldom leave it. Besides non-descript idlers, there are eleven brotherhoods of Muslim religious mendicants, belonging to two main classes : (*i*) Bésharàa, *i.e.*, those beyond the law, and (*ii*) Basharāa, *i.e.*, those under the law. The first class have no wives or families and are nomadic in their ways of living. They drink, and do not pray or fast, nor rule their passions. The Basharāa on the other hand have wives and homes and follow the normal religious routine. Each brotherhood generally has three office bearers. Of these one is the head teacher, chief (*sar guroh*), controlling the whole body and receiving a share in the earnings. The two others are subordinate : the *nakib* (summoner) and *bhandari* (treasurer) looking to the creature comforts of the paternity. The members are further sub-divided into *murshids* (teachers) and *khadims* (or disciples). The disciple brings his day's earnings to the *sar guroh* who taking share and reserving some for the *bhandari*, leaves the rest to be divided between the disciple and his *murshid*. The general mode of initiation of the disciple is as follows :—

The teacher sees that the entrance ceremony is properly performed ; that the disciple is shaved and bathed ; that he learns the names of the heads of the order ; that he promises to reverence them ; that he receives certain articles of dress ; that he gets a new name ; that he learns the new salutation ; that he swears not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery ; to work hard as a beggar or in any other calling and to eat things lawful and finally that the entrance feast is duly given. At the close of each day, the new comer lays his earnings before the head teacher, *sarguroh*. Taking out something for himself and a share to meet the treasurer's charges, the head teacher gives back the rest. This the beggar takes to his teacher who giving him a little as pocket money, keeps the rest for himself. So long as the teacher lives, a beggar continues to be his disciple. When a teacher dies, the oldest disciple succeeds, or if the teacher has a son, the son and the senior disciple share the other disciples between them. The Abdalis and the Nakshabands are the two orders belonging to the lawful (*basharāa*) group and the rest are *bésharàas*. The following nine bèsharàa orders are met with in this State :—(*i*) Benawa, (*ii*) Hijda, (*iii*) Huseini Brahman, (*iv*) Kalandar, (*v*) Madari, (*vi*) Musa Suhag, (*vii*) Rafai, (*viii*) Rasulshahi and (*ix*) Siddi (Habshi).

As to their origin, it is sufficient to state that the natural disposition of the Arabs for a solitary and contemplative life led them soon to forget the command of the Prophet " no monks in Islamism." Another expression in the Koran " poverty is my pride " was the argument which, thirty years after the death of the Prophet, was used by his sectarians to found numerous monasteries in imitation of the Hindus and the Greeks ; since then the order of Fakirs (poor) and of dervishes (sills of the door) so multiplied in Arabia, Turkey and Persia that they reached the number of seventy-two exclusive of an equal number of heretic sects (Brown's Dervishes, p. 76).

Mode of Living—Fakirs in Gujarat include in their ranks men from all parts of India and of every variety of descent. They move from house to house gathering money, grain and cooked food. The money they keep, and the grain and broken food they sell to potters as provender for their asses. Others reciting praises of the generous and abuse of the stingy, ask for a copper in the name of Allah to be repaid tenfold in this world and a hundredfold at the day of judgment.

Abdali also called Dafali or Fadali, players on the tambourine *daf*, are found wandering in small numbers. They speak Hindustani and beg in the name of Allah, beating their one-end drum, *danka*, and singing religious songs. In North Gujarat, they have a fixed due or tax upon the houses of Musalmans in towns and villages.

Nakshaband—literally mark-makers—are found all over Gujarat. They speak Hindustani, keep the head bare and wear the hair and beard long and well combed. With a

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lantern in hand, they move about singly chanting their saint's praises. In return for alms, they mark children on the brow with oil from their lamps. They are quiet and well-behaved and have homes and families.

Benawas are fakirs of the *beshara* order. They are also called Alifshahi from wearing a black Alif-like (first letter of the Persian alphabet) line down the brow and nose. They wear Persian-like woollen hat, sleeveless shirt and round the neck long rosaries of beads of *selis*. They move about in bands of five or ten begging in the name of God. In each town, they have a headman called *bhandari* or treasurer, who receives their earnings and after giving back for expenses, forwards the surplus amount to the *murshid* or spiritual head of the order.

Kalandar, from an Arabic word meaning monk, are fakirs who wander over the country for begging and are troublesome in their demands. They shave the whole body including the eye-brows, and are Sunnis in faith.

Madari fakirs are mostly converted Hindus of the *nat* or tumbler class. They take their name from Badi-ud-din Madar Shah, the celibate saint of Syria, and belong to the *beshara* order of Sunnis. They beg alone or in bands of two or three. Some move about dragging a chain or lashing their legs with a whip to force people to give them alms. Others are snake-charmers, tumblers, monkey dancers and trainers, tricksters and ropes-dancers. They honour Hindu gods and follow Hindu customs. They marry only among themselves and form a separate community with a headman.

Musa Suhag are Musalman fakirs, who are so called after their patron saint Musa, who lived at the close of the 15th century, and used to dress as a woman to indicate that he was devoted to God as a wife to her husband. In memory of their saint, fakirs of this order dress like married women in a red scarf, a gown and trousers. They do not shave the beard, but put on bracelets, anklets and other garments. They are Sunnis in religion and never marry.

Musa Suhag

Rafai fakirs are also called *Munhphoda* or *Munhchira*, that is, face lashers or face splitters. They are found in small numbers all over the State. They hold in their right hand a twelve-inch iron spike called *gurz*, sharp-pointed and having near the top many smal liron chains. While begging, they rattle the chains, and if people are slow in giving them alms, strike at their cheek or eye with the sharp iron point, which however causes no wound. They are Sunnis, some are celibates, while some are married.

Rasulshahi fakirs are also known as *mastan* or madmen. They put on only a shirt and a waist cloth. They are Sunnis of the *beshara* or celibate order and beg with a wooden club in their hands.

Sidi or **Habshi** fakirs are the descendants of African negroes brought to India. Their chief object of worship is Babaghor, an Abyssinian saint, whose tomb stands on the hill near Ratanpur in the Rajpipla State. Sidi fakirs move about in small bands. While begging they play upon a peculiarly shaped fiddle ornamented with a bunch of peacock feathers and sing in a peculiar strain in praise of their patron saint.

AUDICH—See under Brahman.

BAROT including **BRAHMA BHATS (Hindu 14,555; Jain 26; Arya 10)** Bards and heralds, they are found in large numbers in the Mehsana and Baroda districts and in small numbers in the Amreli and Navsari districts. Local inquiries seem to show that Gujarat Bhats were originally Brahmans from Allahabad and Marwar, who settled in Kadi and its neighbourhood. That some at least came from North India appears from the existence of Kanojia Bhats, both in Kathiawad and Cutch. There are eleven Bhat settlemets in North Gujarat. Of these four are in British Ahmedabad district, five in Baroda and Mehsana districts, two in Kaira and one in Cambay. Traces of their Brahman origin survive in their wearing the Brahmanic

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thread and in their having such clans or *shakhas* as *Harmani*, *Kashiani* and *Parvatani*. Like Brahmans, Bhats of the same *shakha* do not intermarry. In Central Gujarat Brahman (Brahma) Bhats are found in large numbers. In North Gujarat and Kathiawad, besides Brahma Bhat the principal section, there are six sub-castes, *viz.*, Dashnami, Kankali, Kanojia, Nagari, Pakhia and Vahivancha. Though the members of these sub-divisions neither interdine nor intermarry, all eat food cooked by Vanias and Kanbis. Brahma Bhats hold a higher place than any of the six divisions. Their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. A man may divorce his wife, but the wife is not allowed to divorce her husband. Some sub-castes allow widow remarriage, but Brahma Bhats and those among others, who are considered *kulins* or of good family forbid it. A *kulia* eats with an *akulia*, but does not give him his daughter in marriage. Female infanticide was formerly practised among the *kulias*. Gujarat Bhats are vegetarians living on food-grains.

The honorific title of Rao is applied to Barots. Their main occupation is repeating verses of their own composition or selections from Hindu legends. They chant verses in a style peculiar to themselves and not unpleasant to a stranger, as the modulation of the voice and an energetic graceful action give effect to the poetry which is either to praise some renowned warrior, commemorate a victory, record a tragic event or panegyrise a present object. The chief patrons of the Bhats are Rajputs, but Kanbis, Kolis and Luhanas also have their Bhats, who visit their patron's house. The Bhat is the genealogist, bard and historian of his patron's family. His *vahi* or book is a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined when a marriage or right to ancestral property is in dispute. An interesting feature in the history of the Bhats was their use as securities. They became guarantees for treaties between rival princes and for the performance of bonds by individuals. No security was deemed so binding or sacred as that of a Bhat; for the reason that on failure he had at his command means of extorting compliance with his demands which were seldom used in vain. Those were the rites of *traga* and *dharna*. Traga consisted in shedding his own blood or the blood of some member of his family and in calling down the vengeance of heaven upon the offender, whose obstinacy necessitated the sacrifice. Dharna consisted in placing round the dwelling of the recusant a cordon of bards, who fasted and compelled the inhabitants of the house to fast until their demands were complied with. For these services, the Bhats received an annual stipend from the district, village or individual they guaranteed. Under the establishment of British supremacy in Gujarat, these rites became impossible and the custom of employing Bhats as securities fell into disuse. Many Bhats have abandoned their hereditary calling and become husbandmen. Some are well-to-do bankers, money-lenders and traders. Some are grocers and village shop-keepers and some are day-labourers, domestic servants and messengers. A few live by begging. While moving from house to house, the Nagari Bhats beat a *tokri* or drum, the Kankali carry a trident and the Palimanga, a knife.

In Religion, Bhats are Ramanuji, Shaiva and Vaishnava and worshippers of Amba, Bahucharaji and Kalika. Their priests are Audich, Modh or Shrimali Brahmans. Among Brahmabhats, Chamunda and Kalika are tutelary deities.

Bhats have no hereditary headman. Social disputes are settled by a few respectable castemen.

The Brahma Bhats (10,076) who are distinctly the most Brahmanical section of the caste are themselves divided into 10 sub-sections: (1) Devluk, (2) Harmani, (3) Kashiani, (4) Indrani, (5) Kundanpuria, (6) Messava, (7) Parvattani, (8) Rana, (9) Rao and (10) Sodani. Marriages are prohibited within each section or group of allied section like (1) and (3), or (2), (3) and (7), or (9) and (10).

BARIA (Hindu 103,769; Jain 5)—A caste of Kolis with a distinct Rajput strain. They are found chiefly in the Baroda district. Their own account makes Baria in Rewakantha, their original home from which, towards the close of the 15th century they were expelled by the Chohan Rajputs, who in turn had been driven out of Champaner by the Mahomedans under Mahmud Begada (A.D. 1484).

Their growing race-consciousness had led Barias, almost *en masse* in the State, to repudiate their Koli origin, and to seek affiliation with the Rajputs, most of whom, however, although they are ready to take girls in marriage from Barias, are not prepared to give them the dignity of their status. Some of the ruling chiefs and thakores however like Jambugorah, Rajpipla and Miyagam have encouraged this group to lift themselves in the social scale.

Barias are smaller and darker than Patanwadias and are remarkable for their wonderful eyesight. In occupation they are landlords, cultivators and labourers.

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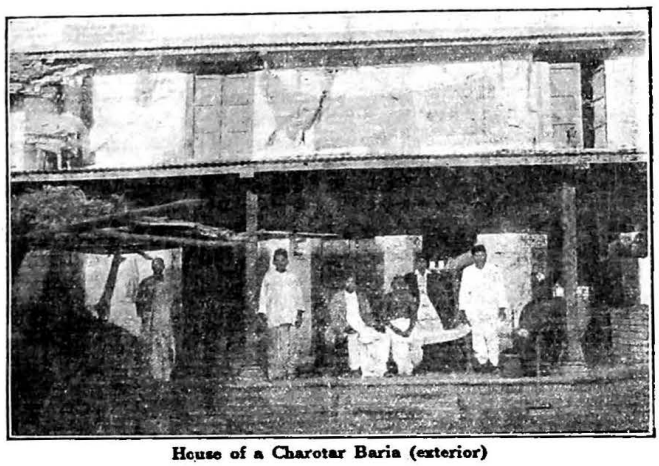
The Barias in Central Gujarat are of fairly good repute socially; their intermarriages with the Rajputs, particularly of the Padhiar clan were frequent enough to warrant their persistent putting forward of their claim to Rajput status. This fact combined with that other well-known circumstance that "Koli" is a vague term, covering a number of tribes of inferior status, but with little relation to one another led the Census of 1931 to treat Baria apart from Kolis as a distinct entity in the Caste Table. The Barias of the socially superior sections are now beginning to discourage widow remarriage. The following illustration of a Baria house in Charotar is typical of their social condition and standard of life. Lower roofed and more congested than of the average Patidar, they showed the same fondness for brass utensils and the same type of furniture. There is more herding with the cattle and their stalls are far too near to permit of cleanly living.



House of a Charotar Baria (exterior)

House of a Charotar Baria (interior)

BAVCHA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

BEHLIM (1,732)—They are converted Rajputs of the Behlim tribe and are chiefly found in the Mehsana *prant*. They intermarry with other Musalmans. The name Behlim apparently is of Turkish origin. Mahammad Behlim, an Islamised Turk, who held Lahore on behalf of Sultan Atsalan Shah (A. D. 1115 circa) overthrew and subjugated many haughty Hindu chiefs, among whom was the Chief of Marwar. This account, for the muslimisation of many Rajput clans who took the Behlim name. But through frequent intermarriage with other Muslims, the present day Behlim has ceased to be a separate class. The women have given up the Rajput dress and now wear the Musalman scarf gown and trousers. But there is a great admixture of Hindu religions and social practices amongst them, as amongst other converted Rajputs. They are not strict Musalmans, and at marriages (when the bride is a Hindu), both Brahman and Islamic rituals are combined. They still observe the Rajput custom of sending a sword to the bride's house and bringing her back to the bridegroom's village for the ceremony.

BHADELA (1,908)—A name given to Mussalman sailors known as lascars, found in Amreli district. Originally Musalman settlers from Arabia, they assimilated the converted Vaghers and Kharvas. They are found in Beyt, Div, Dwarka, Jafarabad and the Nawanagar ports. The Vagher element is of undoubted Rajput stock, a fine looking race hardy and enterprising, capable of enduring fatigue. They are long voyage sailors by tradition. Allied to them is another sea-faring class of Muslims, the Kaba Valiyas who are converts from amongst Kharvas.

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They owe their conversion to immigrant Kabas (who had settled there coming from Kabatisvan by sea).

BHANGIA—See under Depressed Classes.

BHARWAD (included under **RABARI**)—A caste of shepherds. They claim Gokul Brindavan as their original home and to be of the same Meher caste to which Krishna's foster-father Nand Meher belonged. From Gokul, they are said to have moved to Mewar, and from Mewar to have spread into Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch. They are closely related to Rabaris with whom they eat but do not intermarry.

They live on milk and bread, but can also eat the flesh of sheep and goats. They sell goat and ewes' milk and weave and sell woollen blankets. Except a few who are Ramanandi, Bharvads are followers of *Mata*. Like Kadwa Kanbis, Bharvads in Kathiawad and North Gujarat celebrate their marriages only once in twelve, fifteen or twenty-five years, on a day in the month of *Vaishakh*, and all the Bharvads of the neighbourhood hold their marriages in the same place. The richest Bharvad among those who wish to get their daughters married, buys the ground where the marriages are to be celebrated. This is necessary because the ground cannot be used a second time for the same purpose. It is kept as pasture and an ornamental wooden post, called the marriage pillar, is set up on it and preserved to show that the ground has been used for marriages. Among the Bharvads of Central and South Gujarat, marriages are performed with little or no ceremony. A Brahman or a Darji, or in their absence, one of the members of the bride's family officiates at the marriage. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed. A younger brother of the deceased husband has the first claim on his widow. Divorce is allowed. In some places the mother is not held impure after child-birth and does her household work from the day of delivery; in other places, she remains impure for fifteen days. Bharwads burn the dead. *Shraddha* ceremony is performed with the help of a Kayatia Brahman. Caste people are feasted on the 12th day. Caste disputes are settled at a meeting of the adult castemen. Elopement is punished with excommunication and other breaches of caste rules by fine.

BHAVSAR (Hindu 4,860; Jain 1,006; Arya 10)—A caste of calico printers. Bhavsars are found chiefly in cities and large towns. According to their story they were originally Kshatriyas, who during Parshuram's persecution hid themselves in a Mata's temple and for this act of *bhav* or confidence in the goddess, came to be known as Bhavsar. They have such tribal surnames as Bhatte, Chohan, Gohel, Parmar and Rathod, which support their claim of Rajput descent. The original home of their ancestors was Vraj-Mathura in North India from which they moved to Marwar and thence to Champaner and the country bordering the Mahi and the Narbada. From Central Gujarat some went to Kathiawad and Cutch in the north and some to Surat in the south. Ahmedabadi, Harsolia, Jamnagri, Mesania, Moderia, Prantia, Visnagara and other local surnames bear witness to their early settlements. Their family goddesses are Ambaji and Hingalaj. Besides being divided into Meshri and Jain Bhavsars, who eat together but do not intermarry. Bhavsars have three sub-divisions—Rewakanthia, living on the banks of the Mahi and the Narbada. Ramdeshis, living in Pali and Pratapgad, and Talabda living in North Gujarat. In this State, the last named form the predominant section. The members of these three divisions neither eat together nor intermarry. But Ramdeshis and Rewakanthias eat food cooked by Talabdas. Of the three sub-divisions, the Talabdas alone live on vegetable diet; Ramdeshis and Rewakanthias except those who are Jains have no scruple in eating animal food in South Gujarat. Many Bhavsars have given up calico printing and have become confectioners, tailors, washermen and sellers of cloth and pretty brass-ware. By religion some are Jain and the rest belong to the Kabirpanthi, Radhavallabhi, Ramanandi, Santrampanthi, Swaminarayan and Vallabhachari sects. In their marriage rites they do not differ from Vanias and Shravaks. Girls are married before they are eleven and boys at any time after ten. Marriage is not allowed between people of the same surname. Divorce is allowed and a widow sometimes remarries the younger brother of her deceased husband. They burn their dead, the Jain Bhavsars with the full Shravak Vania rituals, and the Meshri Bhavsars with Meshri Vania rites. Each community has its headman who settles caste disputes at a meeting of all the members of the caste.

BHIL—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes—Bhil.

BHOI (4,765)—Water carriers and palanquin-bearers. They make nets and practise fishing also. According to them they are Rajputs from Lucknow. They have nine sub-divisions—Bakoria, Bathava, Gadhedia, Gudia, Kahar, Machi or Dhimar, Mali, Meta and Purbia. Of these, Mali and Bakoria eat together and intermarry; Mali, Gudia and Kahar eat with one another but do not intermarry; the rest neither eat together nor intermarry. They are strongly built and dark like Kolis. Except the Purbia, whose home speech is Hindustani, they speak Gujarati. Palanquins are now used only on marriage occasions and in carrying about high caste *parda*

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ladies or idols. Bhois now also till lands, tend sheep or goats, grow water chestnuts, or work as field labourers. They employ Audich or Modh Brahmans as their priests. Widows are allowed to marry and divorce is easy. They worship *Meldi Mata*; but some of them are Bijmargi, Ramanandi, Shaiva or Vallabhachari.

BRAHMABHAT—See under Barot.

BRAHMAN (123,522, besides 192 Aryas)—The term Brahman is derived from *Brahma*, the supreme Being, and in its earliest sense denoted one who attained to Him. During the Vedic period it came to denote one who knew or repeated the Vedas, and later on, as the rituals became more complicated,—a "priest". The Purusha Sukta hymn of the Rig Veda is an account of the general cosmogony of the universe and makes the earliest mention of Brāhman as a class name, representing the "mouth of the Supreme Being." That hymn foreshadowed the later crystallisation of Hindu society in the Manavan Scheme into a fourfold division of caste, based primarily on function and status, and later, through the progress of Aryan dominion, developed on the basis of colour and race. But the present day characteristic of Indian caste, *viz.*, its inflexible hereditary character, did not develop till late. In the Vedic times, instances of Kshatriyas and other non-Brahman's being raised to Brahmanhood for austerities or learning are numerous. Later even, instances of creation of certain classes of Brahmans, through necessity, or the prerogative of kings, have happened. Differences in Brahman subcastes are therefore primarily due to (*i*) purity of lineage and (*ii*) assimilation of other classes in the Brahman status. Secondly through migration, Brahmans tended to differentiate themselves round certain places after which subsections were named; and these later hardened into castes.

Group of Gujarat Brahmans—The Gujarat Brahmans may be roughly formed into three groups, the early, the middle and the modern.

(*i*) The early Brahmans are in most cases connected by tradition with some holy place chosen in early times by Aryan settlers from Upper India. Most of these early divisions are husbandmen and as a rule darker and sturdier than the more modern immigrants.* Among these are the Bhargavs of Broach who claim descent from the great seer Bhrigu and who still hold a high position among Gujarat Brahmans; the Anavalas, the vigorous skilful class of south Gujarat landholders whose original settlement or *mahasthan* seems to have been at Anaval, near the Unai hot springs, about forty miles south-east of Surat. With them rank the Sajodras, who take their name from Sajod, a place of early sanctity about eight miles south-west of Broach. Further north are the Borsadias of Kaira, who claim descent from an early religious settler named Bhadrasiddha. Other divisions of earlier settlers seem to have come to Gujarat from the Dakhan. They are the Jambus of Jambusar in Broach, the Kapils from Kavi at the mouth of the Mahi, the Khedavals of the Kaira district, and the Motalas of Mota about fifteen miles west of Surat. These classes have all become so completely Gujaratis in appearance, speech and customs that they must have been long settled in the province. Copperplates show that the Jambus at least were in their present villages as early as the beginning of the fourth century after Christ (A. D. 320).

(*ii*) The second group of Brahmans represents small bands of immigrants from Upper India whose settlement the kings of Anahilavada (A. D. 961-1242) encouraged by grants of land. These small bands of settlers came from different parts of Northern India, and receiving separate grants in different parts of the province have never associated and have been one of the chief causes of the minute divisions of Gujarat Brahmans. The chief divisions that belong to this group are the Audichya, Harsolas, Kandoliya, Khadayata, Modh, Rayakwal, Shrimali, and Vadadra. The Nagars, the chief division of Gujarat Brahmans, seem to be earlier settlers as copperplates from the fifth to the eighth century mention Nagars at Junagadh, Vadnagar and Vallabhi.

(*iii*) The middle group includes another set of division of whose arrival no record remains but who seems to have come from Marwar and Rajputana before the times of the Musalmans, driven south, it is believed, by famine. Of this group the chief divisions are the Desaval, Jharola, Mevada, Palival, Shrigaud, Udambara, and Uneval.

* According to local legends some of these early Brahmans belonged to the pre-Aryan tribes and were made Brahmans by early Hindu heroes and demigods. Pre-Aryan tribes may in some cases have been raised to the rank of Aryans in reward for signal services. But such cases are doubtful. The explanation of these local classes of early Brahmans seems to be that they are the descendants of settlers from Upper India who entered Gujarat either by sea or by land from Sindh. These settlers were joined by others of their own class who, marrying with the women of the country as was sanctioned both by the law and the practice of the early Brahmans, founded a local Brahman colony. The process of founding these local Brahman classes is thus described by Megasthenes (B. C. 300). When Megasthenes wrote the process would seem to have been still going on. "Persons who desire to live the same life as the Brahman hermits cross over and remain with them, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brahmans; they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country from whom the native inhabitants are sprung and of these women they beget offsprings". McCrindle's Megasthenes, 121.

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(*iv*) Of modern Brahmans, *i.e.*, of immigrants since the time of Musalman rule, the chief are Maratha Brahmans of the Deshasth, Konkanasth and Karhada tribes, who in the early part of eighteenth century accompanied and followed the Maratha conquerors of Gujarat. Under British rule no large bodies of immigrants have entered Gujarat. But there has been a slow steady stream of settlers from Marwar. This State has further received recruits from Kanojia and Sarvaria Brahmans from Hindustan to the military, police or other ranks.

List of Gujarat Brahmans—Ordinary accounts and the lists in the Mirat-i-Ahmedi (Circa 1760) and in Dayaram's poems give 84 divisions of Gujarat Brahmans. Details however in the lists do not agree and perhaps the number 84 is traditional. The Gujarat Population Volume of the Bombay Gazetteer recognises 79 divisions of Gujarat Brahmans. "The Tribes and Castes of Bombay" (Enthoven) recognises 93 subdivisions, but includes Garodas (priests of the untouchables). It excludes Abotis (who are an independent section, but are wrongly included as a sub-section of Shrimali). It further mentions Bhojaks as a Brahman subsection of Shrimalis, but they are now Jains and are no longer Brahmans. The list is given below :—

1. Agarwal
2. Agarsindhwal
3. Akshmangal
4. Anavala (2 subdivisions)
5. Anodhia
6. Audich (29 subdivisions)
7. Ashpura
8. Balam or Valam
9. Bhalvi
10. Bhargav (4 subdivisions)
11. Bharthana
12. Bhukania
13. Borsada
14. Chaun
15. Chovisa or Chorisa (2 divisions)
16. Dadhich or Dadhichi
17. Dahema or Dayama
18. Dareda
19. Deshawal
20. Gadiali
21. Gangaputra
22. Garoda (priests)
23. Gayawal
24. Godhwal or Gorwal
25. Girnara (5 subdivisions)
26. Godmalvi
27. Ghogari
28. Gomitra
29. Gomtiwal
30. Gujali
31. Gurjar
32. Gurjar Gauda or Ghoda
33. Guru
34. Harsolia or Harsola
35. Indhval or Idhaval
36. Jamu or Jambuvant
37. Jharola
38. Kalinga
39. Khandolia
40. Kapil
41. Karbelia
42. Karkhelia
43. Khadayata
44. Khedawal or Khedwal (3 subdivisions)
45. Lalat
46. Madhyachal
47. Malikwal
48. Mewada (5 subdivisions)
49. Modh (9 subdivisions)
50. Madhmaitra
51. Motala
52. Nagar (18 subdivisions)
53. Nandrana or Nandraina
54. Narsingpura or Narsigpura
55. Nardik
56. Namal
57. Nandora or Nandodra
58. Nandhana
59. Napal
60. Oswal
61. Paliwal or Palewal
62. Panjora or Pangora
63. Parja or Parasar (2 subdivisions)
64. Parsolia
65. Porwal or Porwad
66. Preteval
67. Pundwal
68. Pushkarna or Pokharna
69. Puwawal
70. Rajwal or Rangwal
71. Raikula
72. Raipura
73. Raisthala
74. Rayakwal (2 divisions)
75. Rodhwal or Rotwal
76. Sachora (2 subdivisions)
77. Sajodra
78. Sanothia
79. Sanodia or Sanath or Sanaola
80. Sarvaria
81. Sarsvat
82. Sevak
83. Sindhwal
84. Shrigaud (10 subdivisions)
85. Shrimali (5 subdivisions)

85A. Sonpura or Sompura

86. Sorathia
87. Tangmodia
88. Tapodhan
89. Udambara (3 subdivisions)
90. Vadadra or Valandra
91. Vainsh Vadhra
92. Vayada
93. Yajnikval

Names occurring in the State—Of these, 12 names occur in the Baroda Census. The marginally noted names found in the State are not included in the above list. Most of these Brahmans are from the Deccan, a few from the North speaking Hindustani. A few like Kayatia are Gujarati speaking but do not occur in the list. Vyas is probably a fusion of sub-castes. The name is given to descendants from 108 Brahmans of several sub-castes who conducted a penance ceremony performed by a Brahman jester in the court of a Musalman king of Ahmedabad. The families who took part in this ceremony were excommunicated and formed a separate caste. Vyas Brahmans allow widow remarriage and in dress resemble Vanias and Patidars. They are husbandmen, cloth sellers and money-lenders and some have taken to begging. A later section find employ as strolling players and have joined with the Targalas and Bhavaiyas. Unevals are a curious omission from the list, as they are found chiefly in Baroda and Kathiawad and take their name from Una

Bardai
Deshastha
Devrukha
Golak
Kanyakubja
Karhada
Kayatia
Maithil
Rajgor
Raval
Tailangi
Uneval
Vanza gor
Vidur
Vyas
Yajurvedi

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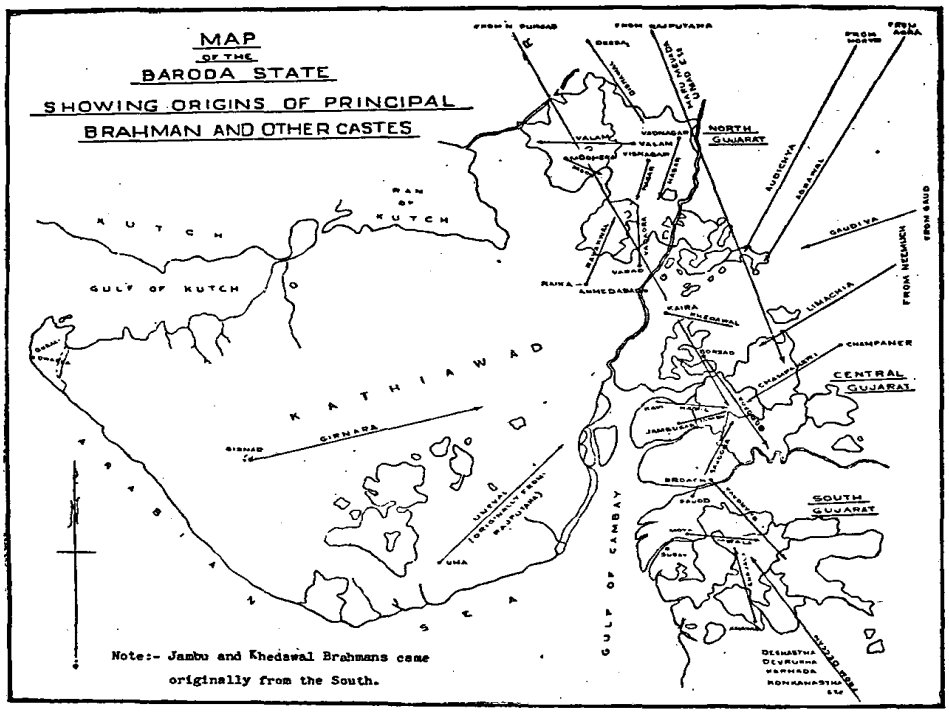
(in South Kathiawad). They originally came from Rajputana. Vanza Gors are priests of the caste of weavers of that name found in Kathiawad, and for that reason are degraded. Vanzas are distinct from Salvis and regard themselves as superior to them. They have gradually left off weaving and taken to other occupations, such as tailoring, calico printing, etc.

Territorial origins—Most of the subsections of these sub-castes of Brahmans derive their names from territories or places denoting their origin. A few of these names of territorial signification enter into other castes as well: *e.g.*, Agarwal, Deshawal, Harsola, Jharola, Khadayata, Nagar, Nandora, Oswal, Palival and Vayad occurring in both Brahman and Vania groups. Shrimali occurs not only amongst Brahmans and Vanias but with Sonis as well. So also Mewada, but with Suthar in addition. Sorathia occurs with Brahman, Vania, Kumbhar and Luhar. In two subdivisions, Audich and Nagar, there is a section called Barad, which definitely points to *varnasankar* or assimilation with other subdivisions or even perhaps other castes. A map is attached, showing the origins of some of these territorial names.



Function of Brahman groups—Except Anavalas, who are all theoretically laymen or *grihasthas*, each of the Brahman subdivisions is either entirely priestly, *i.e.*, *bhikshuka*, or contains two classes, one priestly, and the other, lay. Except Bhargavas, Nagars and a few other Brahmans who have among them families believing in one or other of the Vedas, Gujarat Brahmans are generally followers of the Yajurveda. Each division includes from 5 to 25 exogamous *gotras* or family stocks, each stock claiming descent on the male side from one of the *rishis* or seers. Except among Nagars, religious and lay families, if not of the same stock, can intermarry. A man's position as priest or layman is hereditary and is not affected by his actual business or profession.

Their features—Except the fair and regular featured Nagars and Bhargavs, most Gujarat Brahmans, compared with the trading and other high caste Hindus, are somewhat dark, rough-featured and strongly made. Except in Cutch, where some men wear long flowing Rajput-like whiskers, and except some who in fulfilment of a vow allow the hair on the head and face to remain uncut for a few months or a year, Brahmans as a rule retain the hair of the head only over a space that could be covered by a cow's hoof. This hair is generally long and tied in a knot from behind, especially when engaged in religious worship. Women have their

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forehead marked with a circular *kanku* (red powder) dot; the men's forehead is marked with sandal or *kanku* circle or two or three horizontal lines.*

Dress—Unlike Vanias who are always amply and cleanly clad, the everyday dress of most Brahmans is little more than a turban and a waist and shoulder cloth, and the everyday dress of most of the women is simple and cheap. Still all have some store of good clothes; the men, a rich turban and silk dining dress, the women at least two good robes, one of them of silk. Compared with other high caste Hindus, the men have few ornaments. But the women have nearly as large a store of jewels as the women of any other caste.

Sects of Brahmans—All Gujarat Brahmans, except a few who belong to the Svaminarayan sect, are followers of Shiva. Their social and religious customs are chiefly ruled by the Mayukh, the Mitakshara and the Dharma and Nirnaya Sindhu. Of the sixteen† Vedic *sanskars* or sacraments, Gujarat Brahmans observe only four at their proper time: *Simanta* ‡ or parting of the hair at pregnancy, *Upanayana* or thread girding, *Vivaha* or marriage, and *Svargarohana* or funeral ceremonies, literally "heaven-climbing," some of the remaining being observed along with one or other of these, some being not performed at all.

Marriage—Marriages are prohibited between *sapindas* and between members belonging to the same *gotra* and *pravara*. Sapindas ¶ are those who are within five degrees of affinity on the side of the mother and seven on that of father. The person himself constitutes one of these degrees; that is to say, two persons stand to each other in the *sapinda* relationship if their common ancestor, being a male, is not further removed from either of them than six degrees, or, being a female, four degrees. The *pravara*, also called *arsheya*, are those sacrificial fires which several *gotras* § had in common. So persons of these *gotras* which had a common *pravara* cannot intermarry. Marriage with a father's sister's, mother's sister's and brother's daughter is not allowed. A man may marry his deceased wife's sister. Except among Nagars whose girls are seldom married before they are thirteen, Gujarat Brahmans generally marry their girls between seven and eleven irrespective of the bridegroom's age. Besides a dowry the bridegroom receives presents with his wife. In regard to the dowry, the practice among most divisions of Brahmans is fixed. Except among some degraded Brahmans, widow marriage is not allowed. Divorce is strictly prohibited. Polygamy is permissible, but polyandry is unknown.

Notes on individual Brahman groups—The following brief notes are attached to some of the principal Brahman sub-castes occurring within the State. For more detailed accounts, the reader is referred to the Gujarat Population Volume and Enthoven's Tribe and Castes of Bombay, from which the above account is condensed:—

Aboti (264)—A caste of Brahmans, found mainly in the Okhamandal taluka of the Amreli district. They trace their origin to the younger son of sage Valmiki. Other Brahmans do not eat food cooked by them. As a class, they are poor and live as temple servants, beggars, confectioners and cultivators. The suggestion made in Enthoven's *Tribes* and *Castes of Bombay* that they are a subdivision of Shrimali Brahmans does not seem to be borne out by local enquiry.

Anavala (11,818)—A Brahman caste taking its name from Anaval, a village in the Mahuva taluka of the Navsari district and found in that district and in the neighbouring Surat district. The tradition that Rama, on his return from the conquest of Ceylon, wishing to perform a sacrifice near Patarwada (in Bansda State) where he had halted, and not finding enough Brahmans locally, had created 18,000 of the local hill tribes into Brahmans is naturally denied by the Anavalas themselves, and probably it is a creation of newer Brahman settlers who invented it to assert their superiority over earlier Brahman arrivals. But it is undoubted that the Anavalas represent the earliest Aryan wave of immigration into South Gujarat, and it was under their management that it was redeemed from forest and brought under cultivation. The terms *Mastan* and *Bhathela* applied to them are variously explained. "Mastan" as overbearing and proud may seem appropriate enough for Anavalas have been lords of the soil for centuries. According to another account *Mastan* is short for *Mahasthan* (great place) in reference to some supposed origin of the Anavil people. But probably it is of social

* Generally speaking worshippers of Shiva use horizontal and worshippers of Vishnu vertical marks.

† Some authorities make 12 only; others 40.

‡ Also *Simantak* or *Simantonayana*.

¶ *Sapinda*, literally having the same *pinda*. The *pinda* was the ball of flour or rice offered to the Manes in the *shraddha* ceremony.

§ *Gotra* means literally a cow-pen, and hence any enclosure; *pravara* excellent chief and hence a founder of a race; *arsheya* of or belonging to a *rishi*. The sense of sacrificial fire is not classical.

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significance (as a socially select sept) and as such it forms a subsection of other communities (*e.g.*, Soni *mastans*). Bhathela is either from *bhat* (rice) a name well deserved of these people, as they are the most successful rice growers in this area ; or from *bhrasthela* (fallen)—a derivation of opprobrious intent, evidently favoured by Brahmans of other names. Anavala Brahmans are *grihasthas*. There are no priests or mendicants among them. Socially they are divided into an upper or *Desai* class, the revenue farmers, and a lower or Bhathela class, the ordinary cultivators. The Desais eat with Bhathelas, but object to marry their daughters into any except Desai families. On the other hand Bhathelas, anxious to improve their social position, try hard to marry their daughters into Desai families. This rivalry for bridegrooms of good family has, as among the Patidars of Charotar, led to some unusual practices. Polygamy is not uncommon. A Desai, who finds himself in difficulty, marries another wife and receives from his bride's father money to pay off his debts. Expenses consequent upon marriages, such as dowry, sending the bride to her husband's house, pregnancy, birth of a child, etc., are incurred not by the husband but by the wife's father. Even the expenses incurred by the mother of the bridegroom at the time of her delivery have to be paid by the father of the bride at the time of marriage. Some Desai families with many daughters have fallen into debts and have been forced to mortgage their lands. During the last twenty years reforms in marriage customs have been inaugurated by the educated in the community, which have resulted in the reduction of marriage expenses, diminishing polygamy and marrying of girls without reference to *kul* or family. Caste organisation is however notoriously loose amongst this caste—Anavils generally are enterprising—many having gone to Europe or Africa for education or industrial pursuits, without any dire social consequences on their return. As a result, there is little of mutual help or of collective co-operative effort towards caste welfare. But they are friends to education, hospitable and liberal. Almost all Anavils are *Shaiva* in religion, but they are as lax on ceremonial observance as they are careless in enforcing caste rules.

Audich (45,222)—A Brahman caste so called, because they entered Gujarat from the North (*Udicha*). According to their caste tradition, they were invited to Gujarat by King Mulraj (*A.D.* 961-996) from the north, to help him in holding a sacrifice. When the sacrifice was over, the King offered them money and grants of land to induce them to stay in his country. About a thousand (*sahasra*), who readily agreed, came to be known as *Audich Sahasra* (36,754), while the rest, who formed a *toli* (band) and refused till they were persuaded by further grants, came to be known as *Audich Tolakia* (3,925). The *Sahasras* are superior in social rank to the *Tolakias*. The *Sahasras* are again divided into *Sihoras* and *Sidhpurias* from the towns of Sihor in the Bhavnagar State and Sidhpur in the Baroda State, which are said to have been bestowed on their ancestors. Audich Brahmans live on alms ; a few are cultivators, the rest are cooks or family or village priests. Those of them who are priests of Darjis (tailors), Gandhraps (musicians), Hajams (barbers), Kolis and Mochis (shoemakers), are looked upon as degraded. Ex-communications for serving low caste people have given rise to several subdivisions, such as Darjigor, who serve tailors, Hajamgor, who serve barbers, Gandhrapgor, who serve Gandhraps or musicians, Koligor, who serve Kolis, Mochigor, who serve shoemakers, etc. Those Audichas who have settled in Vagad are held degraded and are treated as outcastes, because they smoke the *hukka*, allow widow marriage and carry cooked food to the fields. They are, however, allowed to give their daughters in marriage to Audichas of Halawad in Kathiawad, whose daughters marry Dhangadra Audichas, and the daughters of Dhangadra Audichas are married to Viramgam, Ahmedabad and Sidhpur Audichas, who hold the highest social rank in the caste. The Sidhpuria Audichas are regarded as superior to other Audichas, and it is considered honourable to give a daughter in marriage to a Sidhpuria Audich. It is this competition for bridegrooms from Sidhpur, which has given rise to polygamy in the caste. Rodhval, Napal, Borsada and Harsola Brahman castes have emanated from the Audich Brahmans, owing to some members of them emigrating from their home to other places ; and Koligor, Rajgor, Kayatia, Kriyagor, Vyas and Targala castes have emanated from the same original caste owing to their taking to degrading occupations.

Deshastha (5,713)—Immigrant Maharashtra Brahmans from the Deccan, mainly for State service. It is said that a Maharashtra King who wanted to perform a sacrifice invited them to the Deccan from the North. After the ceremony was completed, he gave them rich gifts and settled them there. Hence they were known as Deshastha, *i.e.*, those settled in the country (*desh*).

Gugali (1,513)—A Brahman caste, so called from *gugal* (aloe incense). Another derivation is from Gokul, the birthplace of Shri Krishna, and appears more likely as connecting Shri Krishna with Kathiawad. They are numerous in Beyt and Dwarka where they are Vaishnav temple *pujaris* or priests; they act as *purohit* and pilgrim conductors, and are also shop-keepers. They are not much respected by other Brahmans. Though not returned in the census, there is a small sub-caste *Bodha* among the Gugalis. Bodhas are neither allowed to intermarry nor

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interdine with other Gugalis. The cause of the split is said to be due to a gentleman of the caste inviting all the individuals of the caste to attend a sacrificial ceremony and saying that those who did not come in time would be excommunicated. It so happened that some nephews of the man happened to come late. He was naturally angry and called them *bodha*, *i.e.*, fools, and excommunicated them.

Jambu (2,412)—A Brahman caste, also called Jambusaria, found in the Baroda district. They derive their name from the town of Jambusar in the Broach district. They are said to be descended from the sage Yajnavalkya and according to tradition were the first colonists of the town of Jambusar. Copper-plate grants show that they were settled there as early as the beginning of the fourth century. They were once a large and learned community but are now mostly family priests in villages and cultivators. The rest are traders, money-lenders, village headmen and cultivators. Along with the Anavalas and Bharagavas, they represent a very early Aryan settlement. But like the Khedawals, they hailed from the South.

Karhada (1,224)—A caste of Brahmans from the Deccan. They are so called from their originally settling in the Karhat country, *i.e.*, the tract between Ratnagiri and Savantwadi State, called *Karahatta desh*. There is also another tradition about their origin, *viz.*, that they were made by Parashuram from camel's bones. The Karhadas were until recently supposed to be human sacrificers and even now, there are people especially some Tailangi Brahmans who have scruples to take their meals at the house of a Karhada. Karhadas are invariably Rigvedi.

Khedaval (3,992)—A Brahman caste which takes its name from Kheda or Kaira, the headquarters of the British Kaira district. Their chief settlements are at Umreth in the Kaira district and Sojitra in the Baroda district. According to their tradition they are descended from a band of *Tripravari* and *Panchpravari* Brahmans who under the leadership of Shankar Joshi and Dave came from Shrirangapattam in Mysore and settled in Kaira during the reign of a certain Mordhvaj, a Rajput of the lunar stock. The truth of the story is supported by the fact that Khedavals are still connected with Shrirangapattam. Their females wear a necklace called *chitak* and ear-rings called *kap* of the same shape as those worn by Deccani Brahman women and like them their widows dress in white. Many Khedavals, some from Sojitra in the Baroda district and others from towns in the Kaira district, have settled in Madras, Bengal, the Central and the United Provinces. Most of them are jewellers and traders, and some have attained to great wealth through money lending. They are divided into *Baj* "outsiders" (2,493) and *Bhitra* "insiders" (798). It is said that the Kaira chief, anxious to have a son, once offered them cows of gold as gift. The greater number refusing the gift secretly scaled the walls of the city, and came therefore to be known as *bahya*, corrupted into *baj*. Those who accepted the gift remained within the walls and came to be called as *bhitra* or insiders. Even to this day, the Baj Khedavals look upon the non-acceptance of gifts by their ancestors with feelings of pride. The Mahikantha Khedavals trace their origin from Brahma Khed in Idar, but according to tradition they are of the same stock as other Khedavals.

Konkanastha (3,539)—Also called Chitpavan. A Brahman caste, the members of which have immigrated from the Deccan mainly for the purpose of State service. The tradition about their origin is as under :—

When Parshuram, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, had destroyed the Kshatriyas, he, to atone for that sin, granted the whole earth to the Brahmans in gift and brought out a strip of land for his own use from the sea. Having settled there, he once wanted to have some Brahmans for the performance of a *shradha* and a sacrifice, and sent emissaries in search of them ; but none came. This enraged him so much that he wished to create new Brahmans. With this idea uppermost in his mind, he went to the sea-shore for his morning bath and there found some fishermen standing near a funeral pyre (*chita*). He asked them who they were ; they replied they were *kaivartas* and lived on fishing. On this he granted them Brahmanhood and said that they would be known to the world as the Chitpavan Brahmans, since they had been purified near a funeral pyre.

They are also supposed by some to have migrated from the north-west of India, or from Egypt, and this supposition is based upon their colour. The celebrated family of the Peshwas belonged to this caste. Konkanastha Brahmans are among the Maharashtra Brahmans what the Nagars are among the Gujarati Brahmans. Konkanasthas are either *Rigvedi* or *Apasthamba*.

Mewada (5,075)—A Brahman caste which, as its name indicates, originally came from Mewad in Rajputana. Mewadas are divided into three classes, Bhat, Chorasi, and Trivedi. The last-named section is the most numerous in the State. These three interdine, but do not intermarry. They are mostly religious mendicants, family priests and peasants. There is a

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curious custom among the Trivedi Mewadas. Before marriage, the bridegroom reposes on a cot and the bride applies molasses to his navel. After this, the bridegroom goes to the marriage hall.

Modh (9,039)—A Brahman caste, so called from Modhera, once an important place in the Chansma taluka, Kadi district. They are divided into five classes—Agiarasana (1,171), Chaturvedi (6,394), Dhinoja (759), Jethimal (48), and Trivedi (70). These neither interdine nor intermarry. There is a great difficulty in obtaining wives in this caste, in consequence of the large amount to be paid to the bride's father. All the five sub-divisions are to be found in the State, the Chaturvedi who are proficient in the four Vedas, the Trivedi, who know three, the Jethi who are wrestlers, the Dhinoja, who live at Dhinoj in the Chansma taluka and the Agiarasana, who are found in Baroda and Amreli districts. The Dhinojas were till the last century professional thieves and murderers and their depredations spread far and wide.

Nagar (8,096)—Nagars claim to be the highest among the Brahman castes of Gujarat As a rule Gujarati Brahmans do not intermarry, but they have no objection to interdine, except with those Brahmans who are considered as degraded. But Nagars neither intermarry nor interdine with other Brahmans. They rank themselves above all other Brahmans and are undoubtedly a shrewd and intelligent people. They have an engaging address and their women are comely. By their tact, skill and intelligence, they always advance themselves into power in government service, which is their main occupation. Their motto is "*Kalam, kadchhi ane barchhi*" (pen, laddle and spear) which means that writing, cooking or fighting is the only work which a Nagar will do.

There are several traditions current among the Nagars about their origin. One tradition says that they were created to officiate at Shiva's marriage. According to another they were created to officiate at Shiva's sacrifice. A third tradition is that they are the descendants of a Nag, who pursued by some enraged snake charmers, assumed the form of a Brahman, fled to Vadnagar, married a Brahman girl and had several children by her, who came to be known as Nagars. Vadnagar was no doubt the place of their original settlement, and has given to them the name Vadnagara Nagars. Nagar is a Sanskrit word meaning belonging to or residing in a *nagar* or city. Nagars were probably so called either from their residence in the city or from their descent from the Nag tribe of people, who appear to have followed the Indo-Scythian king Kanaksen, intermarried with local Brahmans and settled in Vadnagar. Even at the present day Nagars say that their women are Nag *kanyas* or Nag maidens.

There are seven main sub-divisions of Nagars—Vadnagara (2,368), Chitroda (85), Krashnora, Prashnora (157), Sathodra (223), Dungarpura and Visnagara (4,963). None of the divisions intermarry or dine together except that food cooked by Vadnagaras or Dungarpuras is eaten by all other classes except Prashnoras. The split in the community is attributed to Shiva's wrath whose temple (Hatkeshwar) was excluded from Vadnagar when the town wall was built. It is said that from that day Nagars commenced leaving Vandnagar and the town now contains but one Vadnagara Nagar family. Another tradition attributes the Nagar migration to certain Nagars taking presents from Vishaldev, the Chohan king of Patan. When Vishaldev founded Visnagar, he caused a sacrifice to be made at which he invited many Vadnagara Nagar Brahmans and offered them *dakshina*, but they refused to accept it. The king then wrote upon pieces of paper the grant of certain villages and wrapped them in betel leaves which the unsuspecting Brahmans accepted. The grantees however were excommunicated by their caste men, who had remained behind at Vadnagar ; whereupon they went and settled in the villages granted to them, and formed a separate caste as Vishalnagara Nagars. In addition to the seven main divisions, there is an eighth sub-division of Nagars called Barad among the Vishnagaras and Sathodras. They are those who, unable to have wives from their own community, married girls from other castes and lived apart. The rest of the sub-divisions are named after the places of their settlements subsequent to the split into Vadnagaras and Visnagaras. The Chitrodas take their name from their town of Chitrod, which is believed to be near Bhavnagar. They are a small body and are found in Bhavanagar and Baroda. The Sathodras take their name from Sathod, a village near Dabhoi. They are found in Dabhoi, in this State and in Nadiad, Ahmdabad and other places in British Gujarat. The Prashnoras take their name from Pushkar near Ajmer and are found mainly in Baroda district and Kathiawad. They are *vaidyas* and readers of *Purans*. The Krashnoras take their name from Krishnanagar or Krishnasagar. They are found in Gujarat.

Of the seven divisions, Vadnagara, Visnagara and Sathodra are again sub-divided in *grihastha* (laymen) and *bhikshuka* (priests). There are no intermarriages between the Grihastha and Bhikshuka sections among the Vadnagara Nagars.

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Among Nagars marriage is a very expensive thing. The bridegroom has to present to the bride money for gold and silver ornaments and this has given rise to the proverb *Rupiya hoi gargardi, to male Nagardi* (a Nagar can marry if he has a potful of rupees).

The Vadnagara Nagars are strictly monogamous, and marry their daughters late, *i.e.* at the age of fifteen or even later.

Tapodhan (6,070)—A Brahman caste also contemptuously called Bharda. It is found in all the districts of the State. Tapodhans are *pujaris* of Mahadev, Mata and Shravak temples. Those who are not engaged in temple service are husbandmen, labourers and bricklayers. Other Brahmans are apt to consider them lower than themselves as they accept food and other articles offered to Mahadev and allow widow marriage. As a result, Tapodhans, who are educated and have become socially affluent, have begun to discourage the remarriage of widows permitting it only in the case of child-widows.

BURUD—See under Depressed Classes—Vansfoda.

CHARAN (Hindu 2,610; Arya 1)—Found in Baroda, Meshana and Amreli districts. According to a bardic account, Charans are the descendants of a son born to an unmarried girl of the Dhadhi clan of the Rajputs. To hide her shame, the girl threw the boy as soon as he was born behind a *gadh* (fortress). The boy was saved and called Gadhivi by which name Charans are still known in Gujarat. Gujarat Charans include four distinct sections:—Gujjar, Kachhela or Kachh Charan, also called Parajia or outsiders, Maru or Marwar Charan and Tumer probably from Sindh. The Kachhelas are the largest division of Gujarat Charans. Besides Cutch, they are found all over Kathiawad and form the bulk of the Charan population, both in North and Central Gujarat. Kachhela Charans are closely allied to the Kathis and the Ahirs, who are their great patrons.

CHAMADIA, CHAMAR, CHAMBHAR—See under Depressed Classes—Khalpa.

CHODHRA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

CHUNVALIA—See under Koli.

DARJI (Hindu 15,723; Jain 15; Arya 25)—They are also called Merai or Sui, from *Sui*, a needle, and live chiefly in towns and large villages. They are of twelve divisions, Dhandhaya, Doshi, Dungarpuri, Gujjar (3,545), Maru Ramdeshi (11), Champaneri, Charotaria, Kathiawadi (46), Pepavanshi, Surati (448) and Vakalia (169), none of whom either eat together or intermarry. The Pepavanshi or Rajkali, who are found in the Kadi and Baroda districts, seem to be of Rajput origin of which a trace remains in the surnames Chavda, Chohan, Gohel, Dabhi, Makvana, Parmar, Rathod, Solanki and Sonora. The Ramdeshis, who are found in the Baroda district, were originally Marwadi Girasias. Darjis hold a middle position in society. In South Gujarat in the absence of Brahmans, a Darji officiates at Bharvad marriage. Besides tailoring, Darjis blow trumpets at marriage and other processions. Nowadays they look upon this occupation as humiliating and in most places have resolved not to perform it. In religion, they belong to the Madhavachari, Parnamipanthi, Radhavallabhi, Ramanandi, Swaminarayan and Vallabhachari sects. Their widows are allowed to remarry. Husband and wife are free to divorce each other in some places, and in others like Kadi, a husband can divorce his wife but a wife cannot divorce her husband. Caste disputes are settled by a few leading men at a caste meeting.

There are a few Muslim converts from amongst Darjis but in this census, they were not compiled separately.

DEPRESSED CLASSES (Hindu 202,777; Arya 266; Christian 1,719)—In the body of the Report a standard list of castes definitely known to be untouchable is given. Of these, the marginally noted castes are Gujarati speaking. The remaining untouchable castes that are recorded in the State—Burud, Holar, Mahar and Mang—are from the Deccan. The uncleanness which attaches to these castes would seem to have its origin in the type of occupations in which they engage themselves, rather than in the character of these people themselves. Three causes are assigned why these castes first came to undertake their degrading duties: one is that they were of shameful birth, children of a Brahman woman and a Sudra man. The second is that their race of origin is alien, the remains of a tribe who had long refused to submit to their conquerors. The third, their own reason, and from the almost entire sameness of look, language and customs, it appears to be the true reason, is that they are fallen Rajputs, forced by the pressure of want or through misfortunes in wars to agree to undertake meanest callings. Fairer, larger and less active than the Bhil or other aboriginal, these castes are hardly to be distinguished from the lower ranks of artisans and

- Bhangi
- Chamar or Khalpa
- Garoda
- Nadia
- Shenva
- Thori
- Turi
- Vankar (including Dhed)
- Vansfoda

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cultivators. Their accent however distinguishes the bulk of these people readily from higher class Hindus, although educated persons amongst them in meetings and conferences are now able to speak with the purest accent. Their houses generally are in a quarter by themselves. Most of these huts are one-roomed but the walls made of mud or brick and the peaked roofs covered with thatch or tiles are larger and better built than those of the Raniparaj. Orderly and more sober than the aboriginals, they are freer than these from the dread of witches and spirits. They honour most of the Brahmanic gods, but chiefly Hanuman, Ganpati, Ram, and Devi, and above all they reverence the sacred basil or *tulsi* plant. A few among them belong to the Swaminarayan and a good many to the Kabirpanthi sects. These are more careful than the rest of their class-fellows in what they eat and with whom they associate. As they are not allowed to enter them, people of these classes seldom worship at the regular village temples or shrines. In some hut near their dwellings they have an image of Hanuman or of Ganpati, where on holidays they light a lamp or offer flowers. In front of their houses most of them keep a plant of basil or *tulsi*, and inside some of them have an image of Mata, Hanuman or Ganpati. Those who can afford it, are fond of going on pilgrimage, worshipping Krishna at Dakor and Devi at Pavagadh and Ambaji. They do not pass into the building, but standing in the portico, bow as they catch a glimpse of the image and present a few coppers to the temple servant.

Asceticism amongst the Depressed—Compared with artisans, many of these castes devote themselves to a religious life. Two of the best known and most respected religious teachers of Gujarat are Rohidas the Chamar and Haridas the Dhed. These religious men or *bhagats* differ in the extent to which they hold themselves aloof from the ordinary duties of life. Some of them continue with their families working for their support. Others without family ties live more strictly as ascetics, contenting themselves with what they receive in alms. Some are popular for their knowledge of charms. But, as a rule, they claim no special power over ghosts and spirits. They are sober and strict in their lives, spending most of their time in reciting hymns and prayers taught them by other holy men of their own class.

Religion—Except a half-Musalman section of the scavenger or Bhangia caste, the members of all these castes respect Brahmans and follow closely the ceremonies practised by the higher classes of Hindus. Except among Bhangias, the name is given by a Hindu priest, and, among all of the castes, bethrothal is sealed by the red brow-mark or *chandlo* and children are married at any age up to sixteen. At marriages the priest chooses the lucky day, the god Ganesh is worshipped, the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric powder, and a booth with a central square or *chori* is built in front of the bride's house. On arrival the bride's mother meets the bridegroom, and, presenting him with the grain-pestle and other articles leads him to his seat and places the bride opposite him, separated only by a cloth; the priest recites verses, the hems of the bride and bridegroom's robes are tied, and, together they walk three to nine times round the central square.

Death ceremonies—When no hope of recovery remains the dying is laid on a freshly cleaned floor and a copper piece or some leaves of the basil or *tulsi* are placed in his mouth. Women come to the house to mourn and beat the breast. The body is carried on a rough bier, the bearers, except among the Dheds, calling Ram Ram as they go. Some of them burn; others bury their dead. But all observe the regular rites on the third, fourth and twelfth days after death. Except the Bhangias, the people of the depressed classes have a set of Charans who visit them, note the names of their children, and attend at marriages. According to their own story, the forefathers of these Bhangia Charans failed to pay the government demand due by certain Bharvads or shepherds, for whom they had stood security, and in punishment were forced to drink water from a Dheda's cup. They still visit Bharwads, but dine with Garodas, Dheds and Chamars.*

Social organisation—In every village with more than one family each of these castes has its headman or *patel*, and in social matters each of them has its caste rules, and, according to the decision of the council, visits with fine or expulsion such offences as adultery, abortion, and eating with or marrying persons of a lower caste. Though the bulk of them are poor and few have began to send their children to school, under British rule the position and prospects of the depressed castes have much improved. The same rights are conceded to them as to the higher classes, and they are freed from the burden of forced labour and from other indignities. Their progress has gone on remarkably in recent decades. The Chapter on Literacy shows the strides made by some of these castes in education. The last decade marked certain distinct stages in the development of a new sense of dignity and consciousness amongst these people.

* In Northern Gujarat the headman of these castes has the social title of *mehtar* or prince.

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Bhangi or Bhangia (Hindu 31,018; Christian 8)—Scavengers. They are so-called because they split bamboos for making them into baskets. They are also called Olgana, from their living on scrapmeat. They are said to be the descendants of a Brahman sage who carried away and buried a dog that died in a Brahman assembly. They have for their surnames such names as Chohan, Chudasma, Dafda, Jethva, Makvana, Solanki, Vaghela, Vadher and Vadhiya, which point to a Rajput origin. They have also Dhevda, Maru, Purbiya and such other names as surnames which suggest a mixture of castes. They are scavengers and night-soil carriers and are viewed with kindlier feelings than Dheds partly because they are more subsurvient and also because their presence is so essential in rural economy. The cloth that covers the dead and the pot in which fire is carried before the corpse are given to the Bhangis. Presents of grain, clothes, and money are made to Bhangis on an eclipse day, as Rahu the "tormenter and eclipser" of the Sun and Moon, is a Bhangia and by pleasing them, he is pacified. Like Dheds, Bhangis are Hindus and honour all Brahman divinities. As they are not allowed to enter Hindu temples they bow to the idol from a distance. They are worshippers of Hanuman, Meldi, Sikotri and the basil plant. Many Bhangis are followers of the sects of Kabir, Ramanand and Nanak. Polygamy, divorce and widow re-marriage are allowed. A younger brother generaly marries the widow of his elder brother. Priests of their own castes or Garodas (Dhed Brahmains) officiate at all their ceremonies. They eat flesh of every kind except in Surat, where the flesh of animals which die a natural death is not taken. They eat food cooked by Musalmans. Caste disputes are settled by the headman of the caste either alone or with the help of some elders. Breaches of caste rules are punished by forbidding the offenders the use of water or fire, and they are re-admitted into the caste on paying a fine. There is no half-Musalman section amongst Gujarati speaking Bhangis. Deccani Bhangis have six sections, of which Lal Begi is half-Muslim and Shaikh is completely so. The Lal Begis are a totemistic section who refuse to eat the flesh of a hare, because Lalbeg, their religious head or *guru*, was suckled by a female hare. The strength of Lalbegism is in the United Provinces, from which many immigrants have come and become later assimilated with the Gujarat Bhangis. The Gujarat Bhangi is fond of pilgrimages and is deeply religious. Besides Lal Beg, some Bhangis pay respect to other Musalman saints. In South Gujarat, their great day is the *chaddi*, or the dark ninth of Sravan (in August). The caste has given to the religious history of Hinduism many devout saints like Chiko, Dhiro, Harkho, Manor, Valo, etc.

Burud—See under Depressed Classes—Vansfoda.

Chamadia, Chamar, Chambhar—See under Depressed Classes—Khalpa.

Dhed—See under Depressed Classes—Vankar.

Garoda (7,796)—Priests of the unclean castes, including Bhangis in Central Gujarat, but except Bhangis in South Gujarat. Their surnames —Dave, Joshi and Shukal—point to a Brahman origin, but a few bear Rajput surnames such as Gohel, Parmar, etc. They keep the Brahman fasts and holidays, understand Sanskrit and recite hymns and passages from the Purans. They are called Brahmans by Dheds, Bhangis, Chamars, etc., and officiate at their marriages and deaths. As among Brahmans, a few men called Shukals act as priests of Garoda. They draw up and use horoscopes. Some Garodas till, others weave and a few act as tailors and barbers to Dheds. Their dead are buried and they perform *shradhas*. Divorce and widow marriage are allowed. They have no headman but a council of their caste punishes breaches of caste rules by fines or explusion.

Holar (54).—A Deccani untouchable caste. They are musicians and ballad singers. Immigrants from the Deccan.

Khalpa (Hindu 42,802; Christian 82)—The name is derived from *Khal*, outer skin. They are also known as Chamars or Chamadias from *charma*, skin. They are tanners and skin-dressers and are found all over Gujarat. They bear Rajput surnames and appear to be descendants of Rajputs, degraded for following their unclean profession. In Northern Gujarat, they rank below and in Southern Gujarat above Dheds. Their work is the tanning and colouring of leather, the making of leather buckets, bags and ropes, and the repairing of old shoes. The leather is chiefly made from the skins of buffaloes, bullocks and cows. With goat and sheep skins they have nothing to do. They bury their dead. They eat coarse grain, but have no scruples to eat flesh. Their priests are Garodas. They have a headman or *patel* in each village and settle all caste disputes by calling together five of their own body.

Mahar (572)—Deccani Dheds. The term denotes properly speaking an assembly of tribal units, found throughout the Marathi speaking area. At least 50 sections are comprised in it, but they do not intermarry. Some of the Mahar sections are now the broken residue of many former aboriginal tribes who had owned the country and were now degraded to their present lowly position. Kolis, Bhois, Khatkis, etc., have much in common with them. Mahars

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like their Gujarat confreres live apart from "caste" groups in the village site, but they have lower grades of untouchables with whom they will not consort. A popular derivation of the term Mahar is from *mahahari* (great eater) in support of which certain traditions exist. According to another tradition, Mahars were originally night rovers (*nishachar*) whom the god Brahma turned to men for the benefit of the whole creation. Mahars are usually strong, tall and dark but with regular features and intelligent countenances. Their Marathi is incorrect and oddly pronounced. Their men carry a long staffand dress in a loin cloth, blanket coat or smock with a dirty Maratha turban. The Mahars have 53 endogamous divisions: Somavanshis being the most numerous and socially superior. Their exogamous surnames are based on *devaks* (or totems) not unlike the Marathas. The remarriage of widows is permitted, so also is divorce. The caste follows the Hindu law of inheritance. Mahars profess Hinduism, of both Shaiva and Vaishnava forms. Many are followers of Kabir, Giri and Nath. The favourite deities of the Deccani section are Bhavani, Mahadeva, Chokhoba, Dnyanoba, Khandoba and Vithoba. The religious teachers and priests of the caste are from themselves, *gurus*, *sadhaks*, etc. A class of Mahar *thakurs* (probably degraded Bhats) acts as their priests in Khandesh. The dead are generally buried. A few with means burn. Mahars are hereditary village servants and are authorities in all boundary matters. Their duties are to cut firewood, carry letters, sweep and clean the yards in front of the villagers' houses, carry cowdung cakes to the burning ground and to dig graves. They are paid in cash and have a monopoly of dead village animals. The more skilful go in for domestic service with Europeans, a few have done well as chauffeurs, and have become money lenders or contractors. As unskilled labourers, Mahars have a good repute. The more ambitious section has taken keenly to education and have led the depressed classes generally in agitation for greater recognition of their rights. The usual village organisation of the caste is through Pandwars and Mehters who are hereditary office holders. Usually the most sensible son or other heir is chosen for the job. Caste disputes are settled by the men of the village with or without the help of the headman. In some places they have caste councils. Usual social penalties are expulsion, excommunication and fine.

The Mahars in the State are mostly to be found in Baroda City, where there are about 100 families. They were employed by the Marathas in their armies before in Kadi and Patan. Some of the Mahars are still in the Huzurat Paga (Irregular Horse). Some have taken to private service as *mukadam*, groom or even chauffeur. They have a temple built for religious worships.

Mang (37)—A wandering criminal tribe, found mainly in the Baroda and Navsari districts. They make baskets and winnowing fans. Some are nomad snake charmers and jugglers. Socially they are the lowest. They never make use of a Brahman's services nor pay him any respect. Among them, is a class of men called *Bhats* who claim to be of Brahman descent and act as their priests. Except the dog, cat and ass, they eat all animals. The Mangs bury the dead. A silver image of the dead is kept in the house and in front of the image, every seven or eight days, a lamp is lighted. Some men with the title of *patel* are chosen to settle social disputes. A man guilty of breaking caste rules is fined and money spent in drink. The caste has two kinds of leaders: (*a*) religious (*mehetaria*) who settle caste disputes, etc., and (*b*) *sarnaiks* who lead them in action, criminal expeditions, etc.

The tribe is described in Sanskrit literature by the name of Màtang. It has three territorial divisions: (i) Maratha, (ii) Kanarese (or Madig) and (iii) Gujarat Mang (or Mangela). None of the sections interdine or intermarry.

As a class, Mangs are tall, dark, coarse featured, with blood shot eyes and lank and thick hair. Women tie the hair in the Kunbi fashion. Their hands and arms are profusely tattooed.

The caste has no less than 25 endogamous septs, some of which have a bastard (*akkarmashe*) division. The Assal Mangs have the highest social rank. Remarriage of widows is permitted except amongst Poona Mangs with Maratha surnames. Polygamy is allowed. Mangs profess Hinduism. Most of them are Shaivas, but their favourite goddess is Mariai and their family deities are Bahiroba, Khandoba, etc.

Nadia (622)—An "untouchable" class, Gujarati-speaking, mostly found in the City and the Mehsana *prant* (Kalol taluka). Lower than Chamars or Shenvas, they are higher than Bhangis, whom they will not touch or consort with. They deal in bones and skins of dead animals (particularly horses in cities or towns where they dwell). Also they are rag-pickers and disposers of discarded glass. They are quite distinct from other untouchables and marry amongst themselves. They eat food from the hands of all other untouchables except the Bhangis. They bury their dead and allow remarriage of widows. Garodas serve as their priests on supply of food from them.

Shenva (Hindu 9,643; Christian 82).—Also called Sindhva from plaiting the leaves of *Shendi* or wild date and Tirgar from making *tir* or arrows. They bear such Rajput

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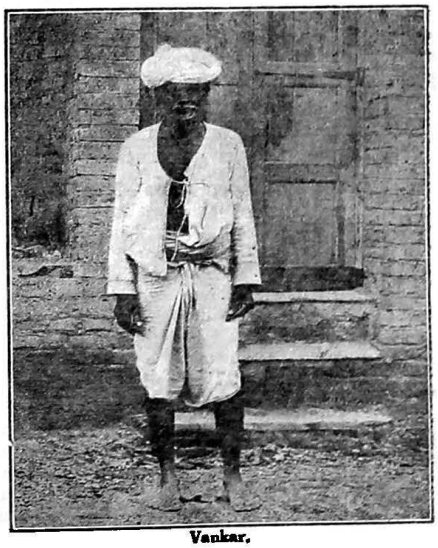
names as Rathod, Solanki, Vaghela and Makvana. Most of them earn their livelihood by making mats and brooms from date trees and ropes of *bhendi* fibre. A few also serve as village servants. They rank between Dheds and Bhangis. Dheds do not touch them and they do not touch Bhangis. Their priests are Garodas. Their food is coarse grain, but they also eat flesh when they can get it. They are Bijmargi, Ramanandi and worshippers of *Ramde Pir* and *Bhildi Mata*. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts, but the followers of *Ramde Pir* fast on new moon days and do not work on Fridays. Some of them go on pilgrimage to Ambaji, Behcharaji, Dakor and Dwarka. They do not enter the temple, but worship standing near the door. Among them divorce and widow-marriage are allowed. The widow of a man marries his younger brother. Social disputes are settled by a few of the elders.

Thori (56)—A wandering tribe living upon the sale of *katharot* (wooden plates), *chatva* (wooden laddles) and plaited reed baskets. They are divided into Garasia and Makwana who differ in no way except that intermarriage is not allowed. They appear partly at least to be of Rajput descent, but are looked upon as untouchable like Dheds, etc. They are reputed to be cattlelifters. Their headquarters are in Kapadvanj under Kaira and Mandva near Chandod, where they stay during the monsoon. During the rest of the year they travel from place to place in bands of ten to fifteen for the sale of their wares. Their home language is Gujarati but they understand Hindustani also. All social disputes are settled by a *panch* whose decision is final. Widow marriage is allowed. Those dying of small-pox or without ever having small-pox, are buried. All others are burnt. Flesh of any kind except pork and beef is eaten. Brahmans are not employed.

Turi (Hindu 1,711 ; Christian 22)—A caste found chiefly in the Kadi district. They take their name from *tur* (drum). They are said to be the descendants of a Bhangi and a Musalman dancing girl. According to their own story they are the descedants of a Bhat. They are probably degraded Rajputs as among their surnames are Dabhi, Makvana and Parmar. In appearance, dress and language, they do not differ from Vankars. In position they rank between Dheds and Bhangis. Besides grain of all kinds, they eat fish and flesh of animals that die a natural death. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, deer, bears, hares and porcupines, but do not eat dogs, cats, horses, asses, jackals, camels, cows, vultures, owls, serpents, cranes, or iguanas. They cultivate during the rains and wander about in the fair season playing on *tur* and singing tales, half-prose, half-verse to the accompaniment of a *sarangi*. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed. The younger brother of the deceased husband has the first claim to his widow. The dead are buried. They have a headman who with the majority of the men present at a caste meeting, settles all disputes. Breaches of caste rules are punished with fines which are spent in caste feasts.

Inspite of their degraded position they have still retained traces of their bardic origin, in that they are the custodians of the Vankars' and Garodas' genealogies (*vahivancha*).

Vankar (Dhed) (Hindu 107,988 ; Arya 266 ; Christian 1,519)—Said to be the descendants of Kshatriyas, who during Parshuram's persecution, passed themselves of as belonging to the impure castes. Chavda, Chohan, Chudasma, Dabhi, Gohel, Makvana, Parmar, Rathod, Solanki, Vaghela and other surnames which they have, show that they must have Rajput blood in them.



Vankar.

Dheds from Marwad are called Marvadi or Maru and those from the Konkan and the Deccan are called Mahar. Besides these, there are ten local divisions named either from the tract of the country in which they live or from their callings. Patania (of Patan), Bhalia (of Cambay), Charotaria or Talabda (of Petlad and Kaira), Chorasia or Mahikanthia (of Baroda and Mahikantha), Kahanamia (of Kahnam tract in Baroda and Broach) and Surtis (of Surat) are the six place names. Hadias (bonemen), Megwans (rain-men) and Vankars (weavers) are the three craft names. Only one, Gujjar, is race-name and is adopted by the Dheds of Broach. None of these divisions intermarry but all except the Marus dine with each other. They live chiefly on grains, but have no scruple about eating flesh.

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They have their own priests called *Garodas*. They worship *Hanuman*, *Ganpati* and *Mata*. Many belong to Bijmargi, Ramanandi, Kabirpanthi and Swaminarayan sects. Some of them have recently embraced Christianity. Polygamy, divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. The widow of a man generally marries his younger brother. Except a few, who are well-to-do, Dheds bury their dead. Death pollution is observed for 11 days. *Shradha* ceremony is performed by the chief mourner on the twelfth day or four days from the tenth to the thirteenth. Dheds believe that a high future is in store for their tribe. A king will marry a Dhed woman and will raise the whole caste to the position of Brahmans. Each village has its headman called *Mehtar* in North Gujarat, and *Patel* in South Gujarat. Along with three or four other members of the caste, he settles all caste and other social disputes. Dheds are strict in punishing breaches of caste rules and show more respect than other artisan castes to the opinion of their headman.

Large numbers of Vankars have gone over to Christianity. 1,519 Indian Christians owned to being Vankars (Dheds) in this census.

Vansfoda—Found in the Baroda City. So called from their occupation of splitting bamboos and making baskets, *chiks*, etc. They are also called Ghancha. The Deccani section of bamboo splitters is known as *Burud*. Together the two sections numbered 478 in this census.

DESHASHTHA—See under Brahman.

DESHAVAL or DISAVAL—See under Vania.

DHANKA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

DHED—See under Depressed classes—Vankar.

DHIMAR (167)—Deccani fishermen who settled in South Gujarat. They have the peculiar North Konkan custom of naming their children from the week-day of their birth, *e.g.*, Mangli (born on Tuesday), Budhio (born on Wednesday), etc. A Brahman officiates at their marriage.

DHODIA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

DUBLA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

FAKIR—See under Ascetics—C. Muslim.

GAMATADA
GAMIT } —See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

GANDHRAP—A caste of musicians from "Gandharva," the mythological musician of the gods. They are found in Kadi and Baroda *prants*. They have entered the provinces from the north and say that they were originally Chitroda Nagar Brahmans. Traces of a northern origin remain in the men's long and flowing turbans and in the coverlets with which the women swathe themselves when they go out of doors. They play on various musical instruments and accompany dancing girls in all their performances. They wear the Brahmanic thread and their priests are Audich Brahmans. They are vegetarians. Divorce and widow marriage are not allowed, but owing to the smallness of their number, marriage among the children of brothers and sisters is allowed and practised. Some of them are Shaiva and others Vaishnav. They have no headman and all social disputes are settled at a mass meeting of the male members of the caste.

Musalman Gandhraps—Musalman Gandhraps number 617. They are mostly found in the Patan mahal (Balisana village). These converts are Sunni in religion. In the dry season, they move about the country and in the rainy months, return to their homes and cultivate. As their girls become professional dancers and prostitutes, the men never marry in their own caste. They seek wives from among the poor Musalmans and sometimes Kolis. The parents live on their daughter's earnings. They have a union and a headman, and during the rainy season generally meet together at marriages.

Jagari—An allied caste to these—Hindu in religion—is a small section, known as Jagari (17 males and 15 females) found in Harij taluka. The caste is professedly devoted to prostitution without reserve. Gandhraps at least have the excuse of art in their calling. As soon as a female child is born, if she happens to be good looking, she is destined for prostitution. She is never betrothed, but when she is about 14 years of age, she is married to a sword. An auspicious hour is found and after, a regular ceremony of marriage with the *pratishtha* of Ganesh, songs appropriate to the occasion sung by women for four to eight days, the inevitable Brahman who performs the rites duly joins the child to the sword. From a hundred to four hundred rupees are spent by the father of the bride on the occasion. She is thereupon

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allowed to ply her trade openly with the approval of her elders. But before the formal ceremony of the sword marriage happens, the girl is offered also the option of being chosen by anyone belonging to any Hindu caste, except the depressed, who is prepared to contribute towards the wedding expenses, as his partner. No formal marriage happens, but the partner so chosen has to live with her in her father's home (somewhat like the *Khandadiyo of Bhil tribes*), work for her and pay for her living, without any legal right as a husband. But he is free to leave her whenever he wills, although she is not free to accompany him. Even while this man continues to live with her, she is free to continue her trade as a prostitute; and her earnings go to the upkeep of the whole household, including her father's. Very few fathers dare to keep their good looking daughters from this calling. Other daughters, less favoured take to the usual course of marriage. The caste lives mainly on prostitution of its girls, but a few Jagaris have taken to agriculture. The caste is found also in Palanpur agency, and then Thar Parkar district in Sind and numbers over a hundred and fifty families all told.

GARODA—See under Depressed Classes.

GEDIA—See under Koli.

GHANCHI (Hindu 14,300 ; Muslim 7,426)—Oilmen, found chiefly in towns and large villages. They are of 8 divisions :—Ahmedabadi (652), Champaneria (145), Modh (8,909), Patani (168), Sidhpuria (164), Surati (58), Khambhati (5) and Pancholi (210). They have Rajput tribal surnames such as Gohel, Jhala, Parmar and Solanki. Of the eight divisions, the Modhs and Sidhpurias rank highest, the other divisions eating food cooked by them, while they do not eat food cooked by the other six. None of the eight divisions intermarry. Though they hold almost as good a position as Bhavsars and Sutars, the common Gujarati expression Ghanchi-Gola is used in the sense of low caste Hindus, just as Brahman-Vania is used for high caste Hindus. Ghanchis are fairly religious and belong to Kabirpanthi, Ramanandi, Swaminarayan, and Vallabhachari sects. They are also great worshippers of the *Kalka* and *Bahuchara Matas*. Marriage ceremonies do not differ from those performed by Kanbis, except in the fact that *Hanuman* is worshipped by the bride and bridegroom immediately after marriage. Polygamy and widow remarriage are allowed, but divorce is rarely granted. The widow of a man sometimes marries his younger brother. Each sub-caste has its own headman who settles caste disputes at a meeting of all the men of the caste. The Hindu Ghanchis have advanced rapidly in elementary education. Some of the Modh Ghanchis are now putting forward claims to be treated as Vanias and a few also returned themselves as Vanias in this census.

The Musalman section of Ghanchis are also called Ghanchi-Vohra. They are the descendants of Hindus of the Pinjara and Ghanchi castes. In their homes, they speak the Gujarati language. Their females dress like Hindu and have such Hindu names as Dhanbai, Jivi, Mankor, etc. Males put on Hindu-like turbans. At marriage, their women go singing like the Hindus with the bridegrooms to the bride's house, and in their feasts they have Hindu dishes of *ladu, kansar*, etc. At death women wail and beat the breast. They are Sunni in faith. They marry only among themselves and the Pinjaras. They have a *jamat*, with a headman chosen by the members.

GOLA (6,209)—Rice pounders, found in most of the towns. According to their story, they were originally Rajputs of Chitor in Mewad who called themselves slaves or *golas* to protect themselves from the persecution of Parshuram. In token of Rajput strain, the word *Rana* is always added to the name Gola. Their tribal surnames are Chohan, Chodhavada, Daladia, Divadia, Hirvana, Katakia, Manhora, Nagaretha, Panchshahdia, Pat, Parmar, Pasia, Samalia, Sitpuri, Solanki, Takoria, Vaghela, Vaghmar, Varaskia and Vehiriji. They eat besides coarse food-grains, fish, fowl and the flesh of the goat, deer, hare and antelope. They drink liquor to excess especially at their feasts and caste dinners. This leads to abusing each other and sometimes coming to blows, and has passed into a proverb. A quarrel ending in abuse with a certain amount of gentle slapping is called *gola ladhāi* or gola brawl. When employed in pounding rice, they have to be closely watched as they frequently carry rice away. Some Golas have given up rice-pounding and work as sawyers, *gumastas* to grocers and cloth-dealers, as sellers of salt and carriers of goods either on their shoulders or on donkey-back. The Gola is held in little respect. A slovenly Vania is called a Gola in contempt. The Golas and Ghanchis are the first on the other side of the boundary line between high and low caste Hindus. As a class they are religious and are either Bijpanthi, Kabirpanthi, Ramanandi or Swaminarayan. Some belong to the Pirana sect, who, while they worship their saint's tomb, also respect Hindu gods. Marriages are not allowed among near relations or between people bearing the same surname. Except that they are less detailed, their marriage ceremonies do not differ from those performed by Kanbis. Widow remarriage is allowed—the widow sometimes marrying a younger brother of her deceased husband. Caste disputes are settled by a headman with the help of five leading men.

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GOSAIN—See under Ascetics—Hindu.

GUGLI—See under Brahman.

HOLAR—See under Depressed Classes.

JAMBU—See under Brahman.

KACHHIA (Hindu 8,143 ; Jain 11)—The caste of market growers, from *katchha*, a vegetable garden. They are said to be originally Kanbi or Koli cultivators who took to the growing of garden produce and formed a separate caste. They are of three divisions in North Gujarat and four divisions in South Gujarat. The three North Gujarat divisions are Ajvalia, the most numerous section in the State, Andharia and Khambhati of which the Andharias are the lowest in social rank. Ajvalia and Khambhati eat together, but do not intermarry. The four South Gujarat divisions are Ahmedabadi, Khambhar, Khatri and Mali, of which Ahmedabadi rank the highest. The four divisions neither eat together nor intermarry. In addition to growing garden produce, Kachhias are also bricklayers, hand-loom weavers, carpenters, sawyers and shopkeepers. In religion, they are Bijpanthi, Swaminarayan or Vallabhachari. The Andharia and Khatri Kachchias are like the Matia Kambis, followers of Imam Shah and observe half-Hindu, half-Mahomedan rites. They fast on *Ramjan* and visit Pirana instead of Hindu places of pilgrimage. Children are married before they are ten years old. Marriage ceremonies do not differ from those of Lewa Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed among relations on father's or mother's side. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed. The dead are burnt and *shradha* ceremonies are performed. They have a *patel* who settles caste disputes in a meeting of the caste.

KADWA PATIDAR (Hindu 219,086 ; Jain 21; Arya 54)—A caste of cultivators. They are found in all the districts of the State but are most numerous in the Mehsana district, which is their original home. They dine but do not intermarry with Lewa Patidars. About their origin it is said that when Shankar went to perform austerities on Mount Kailasa, his consort Parvati to beguile the tedium of solitude, thought of creating some human beings. She thereupon created 52 males and females from the perspiration on her waist. Shiva being apprised of this by the sage Narad, returned from Kailasa and seeing these human beings enquired of Parvati as to how they came to be there. She told him plainly what she had done. This pleased Shiva so much that he allowed these beings to go to the earth and settle there under the name of Kadwa, as they had been created from the perspiration of the *ked* or waist. At the same time he gave them *kana* (grain) and *bij* (seeds) to maintain themselves ; and so they came to be called Kadwa Kanbis. There is a temple of their patron goddess *Umia Mata* at Unjha in the Mehsana district. A curious marriage custom prevails among the Kadwa Kanbis. Once in every 9, 10 or 11 years, priests and astrologers connected with the temple of Umia Mata, fix a day on which marriages take place in the whole caste. Children about a year old and even unborn children are married. In the latter case the pregnant women walk round the *chori* on an understanding that, if their children are a boy and a girl, the couple will marry. If a suitable husband cannot be secured for a girl, she is married to a bunch of flowers. The flowers are afterwards thrown into a well or a river, and the girl, now a widow, can at any time be married according to the simple *natra* form. Sometimes a married man is induced, for a money consideration, to go through the form of marriage with a girl, and to divorce her as soon as the ceremony is over. The girl can then be married according to the *natra* form. Widows marry, but not necessarily to the brother of the deceased husband. A husband can divorce his wife, but a wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent or after she has become a mother. Certain families of good birth hold the position of *shethia* or *patel*, which is a hereditary distinction and manage the affairs of the caste. For the betterment of the caste, a reform movement under the leadership of the enlightened Patdi chief started nearly 20 years ago. Their main efforts were at first directed in the first place to abolish their *en masse* marriage system, and secondly to spread education amongst the people. In the first matter, the State helped them by their legislation preventing child-marraige, so much so that these Umia Mata unions, so it is reported, are now limited to a minority of the community. The Kadwa Patidar Kelvani Uttejak Mandal has been established for the last ten years at Kadi and has to its credit a number of useful activities some of which have been already detailed in the chapter.

KANBI—See under respective titles—Lewa and Kadwa Patidars.

KANSARA (Hindu 2,038 ; Jain 1 ; Arya 120)—Coppersmiths deriving their names from *Kansu* (bell-metal). They are found in most of the large towns except Sidhpur in the Mehsana district, where there are no coppersmiths. The saying is "Copper will not melt in Sidhpur." They say that their original home was Pavaghad, twenty-nine miles east of Baroda. According to their story, five brothers lived at Pavaghad and were warm devotees of *Kalika Mata*, whom

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they worshipped by beating bell-metal symbols. The goddess was so pleased with their devotion that she told them to make a living by "beating" metal. From beating brass they advanced to making brass, copper and bell-metal vessels. Their surnames are Bagaya, Barmeya, Bhatti, Gohel, Karkasariya, Parmar and Solanki. The tribal surnames of Bhatti, Gohel and Parmar show that Kansaras have some strain of Rajput blood. Kansaras belong to five divisions :— Champaneri, Maru, Shihora, Ahmedabadi and Visnagara of whom the lastnamed are the most numerous. None of the five divisions eat together or intermarry. Of the five divisions, the Maru or Marwari wear the sacred thread. In their look, dress and speech, Kansaras do not differ from Vanias and Kanbis. Kansaras hold a respectable position like Vanias and call themselves *Mahajan*. In religion they are Ramanandi, Shaiva and Vallabhachari, but hold their family goddess Kalika Mata in high reverence. Their great holiday is the bright ninth of Aso, on which day they perform in some of their settlements a sacrifice and at midnight dance and leap, holding a wreath of *karena* (oleander) flowers in one hand and a lighted torch in the other, and shouting Palai! Palai! Palai! One of the revellers, inspired by the goddess, professes to cut off his tongue with a sword. They visit the shrines of Ambaji, Becharaji and Kalika. Their priests belong to many divisions of Brahmans—Audich, Mewada, Shrigod and Shrimali. Except among Visanagaras, widow remarriage is allowed. They have their own trade guild. In South Gujarat , an outsider who sets up a coppersmith'a shop, pays Rs. 7 to the guild fund, Rs. 11, if he starts a pedlar's business and Rs. 150 if he wishes to work in brass.

KAPOL—See under Vania.

KARADIA (8,745)—A caste of semi-Rajput cultivators found in the Kodinar taluka of the Amreli district. They are said to be originally Rajputs, and have such surnames as Zala, Vaghela, Rathod, Chohan, Parmar, Jadhav, etc. They have acquired their present name from their having paid *kar* or taxes to Government. They are agriculturists. Their females appear in public. They dine with Rajputs but marry among themselves. Widow marriage is allowed.

Exterior of a Karadia's house, Kodinar

KARHADA See under Brahman.

KASBATI (2,852) Literally dwellers in towns. Some of them are the descendants of Baloch or Pathan mercenaries and others of Rajput converts. Their home language is Urdu mixed with Gujarati or Urdu only. Some of them hold grants of land and the rest are agriculturists or employed in government service as sepoys, police constables, etc. Their women do not appear in public. They are Sunni in faith. The males have Pathan names as Jafarkhan, Sirdarkhan ; and the females have such names as Laduibibi or Dulabibi.

Interior of a Karadia's house, Kodinar

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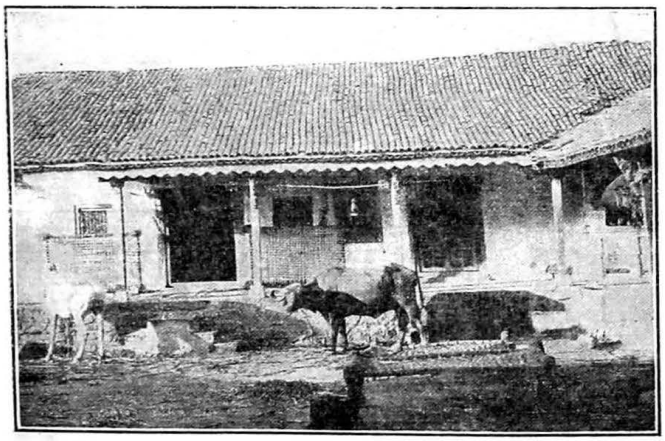
They give their daughters only to Musalmans but occasionally marry Hindu wives of the Rajput or Koli caste. At such marriages, the bride's friends occasionally call in a Brahman. In other cases the ceremony is entirely Musalman. They have no headman and do not form a distinct community.

KATHI (3,525)—A curious and interesting race found in Kathiawad. The cradle of this race is unknown, but it appears to have come from Central Asia, driven by the tide of Mahomedan invasion, through Sindh and Cutch in the 14th century. A party of them, under the leadership of Umro, came to Dhank, ruled by a Vala Rajput. Umro had a beautiful daughter named Umarbai with whom the Dhank chieftain Dhan Vala fell in love. Umro agreed to marry her with him on the condition that they should eat together. To this Dhan agreed, but his brethren considering him degraded, drove him out. He became the leader of the Kathis, and had by her three sons, Vala, Khuman and Khachar, whose descendants bear their names and are considered the three noble tribes of Kathis. They are called *Shakhayats*, while the descendants of the original Kathis are called *Avartias* or inferior. Kathis worship the Sun and use it as a symbol on all their documents. Owing to contact with Hindus, they worship Hindu gods and respect Brahmans. At funeral ceremonies, instead of feeding crows, they feed plovers and have a strong friendly feeling for them. They have adopted the Hindu feeling about the sacredness of the cow. They eat food cooked by any Hindu except the unclean ones and drink liquor. Widow marriage is allowed, but is seldom practised, except in the case of the deceased husband having a younger brother. In such a case, the rule is peremptory that he should marry with his widow. They do not observe *sutak* like Hindus. Similarly women are not segregated as among the Hindus at particular seasons.

Kathi



House of a Kathi: Exterior

KATHODIA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

KHADAYATA—See under Vania.

KHALPA—See under Depressed Classes.

KHANT (4,427)—A caste intermediate between the Rajput and the Koli, found mostly in Mehsana and Amreli *prants*. The term means a borderer. As their name implies, they are a wild and high spirited tribe. They resent the name of Koli applied to them, but in appearance, they differ little from Bhils. Their chiefs who are known as Mers are descended from a Bhati Rajput. Their most famous leader was Jesa, who helped Emperor Mahmmad Taghlak in the conquest of Junagadh from Rakhengar. The Khants owe their ascendancy in Sorath to this help as they got Girnar and 24 villages in Bilkha Chovishi as a reward. Their chiefs are good looking having intermarried Gohels and Jhalas. They are giving up their criminal propensities and settling down to agriculture. Except the cow, they eat all animals

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including the pig. They practise *diyar vatu*, *i.e.* marriage of the widow with her late husband's younger brother.

KHEDAWAL—See under Brahman.

KHOJA (2,167)—Literally meaning "honourable converts" are the descendants of Luhanas who were converted to Islam by the preaching of a Shiah preacher called Nur Satagur or Nur-ud-Din in the 12th century. Nur Satagur is said to have made a number of converts in Gujarat by ordering the idols of a Hindu temple to speak and bear testimony to the truth of his mission. In addition to adopting the name of Nur Satagur (teacher of pure light), he practised the Hindu abstraction or *samadhi*, which shows the process by which the first Ismalia preachers succeeded in converting the Hindus. The Luhanas were the first to be converted, and they who were Kshatriyas were called Khavaja (lord) after their conversion. A late element of strength in the Khoja community was the coversion of a race of Sun worshippers called *Chak* and other tribes in the Punjab and Kashmir. One of Nur Satagur's successors Rande, originally a Tuwar Rajput, sowed the seed of Ismalia faith in Cutch and Kathiawad. On their first settlement in the towns of Gujarat, the Khojas were parched grain-sellers, fuel sellers and bricklayers. They now enjoy powerful position in all the trades. They are scattered all over Gujarat and are to be found in all important trade centres within and outside of India. Khojas have many observances and customs differing from those of regular Mussalmans. They observe the *chhathi* or sixth day ceremony after birth. Their marriage keeps a relic of the marriage by purchase, which they believe once obtained among them. The father of the bridegroom pays Rs. 5¼ to the father of the bride which he hands over to the *jamat*. Like Hindus, they follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The religion of the Khojas is "Shiah Ismailism." In order to present the Ismalia faith in an inviting form to the *Shakti* worshipping Luhanas, the first Ismalia-missionary made some modifications in its doctrines. The *Mahdi* or unrevealed Imam of Alamut was preached to the Shaktipanthis as they looked for the tenth incarnation, the *Nikalanki* or stainless *avatar*. The five Pandavas were the first five Ismalia pontiffs. The first Ismalia missionary Nur Satagur (A.D. 1161) was the incarnation of Brahma that appeared on earth next after Buddha. Among the Matapanthis, each of the four *yugas* has its own preacher or *bhakta*. The first epoch is assigned to *Bhakta* Pralhad, to the second, Harischandra and to the third, Uddhisthir. Instead of the fourth Balibhadra, Pir Sadruddin, the third Khoja missionary, added his own name. The four sacrifices of the four *yugas* were confirmed, as were also confirmed the Ghat-Path Mantra or prayer and ritual of the Shaktipanthis. Instead of Shakthipanth, Sadruddin adopted the name of Satpanth or "True Doctrine" for his new faith. Sadruddin was not connected with the family of Aga Khan, the present religious head of the Khoja community by lineal descent, but is alleged to have been a disciple of his ancestor Shah Nazir. He said to Shah Nazir that on his return to India, he would declare Hazarat Ali, the first Imam, to be *Nikalanki* or the tenth *avatar* and Shah Nazir his descendant. When Aga Khan's ancestors came and settled in India, the Khojas transferred their allegiance to them, they being believed to be the proper religious heads of their community and discarded the descendants of Saiyad Sadruddin Shah. Originally the Khojas were a single body. But for about twenty years, they have split up into two factions called Panjaibhai and Pirai. The Panjaibhai section is the most orthodox body and look upon Aga Khan as the representative of the Prophet or the incarnation of God himself. The Pirai, which is a very small division, consider Aga Khan merely a *pir* or religious head of their community and nothing more. A Khoja has to pay his Imam the *dassonth* or tithe and the *petondh*, a smaller contribution and about sixteen other minor contributions, varying from a few annas to Rs. 1,000. Besides this when pressed for money the Imam sends the *jholi* demanding an extraordinary levy of the *dassonth* and *petondh*. The regular *dassonth*, tenth part of income, is levied on each new moon day, each Khoja dropping in the *jholi*, kept in the *jamatkhana* for the purpose, as much as he is inclined to pay.

KOKNA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

KOLGHA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

KOLI—A term applied loosely to tribes that differ widely from each other. Some writers speak of them as aboriginals of the plain or civilized Bhils; others find them so little unlike Rajputs as to lead to the conclusion that Kolis and Rajputs are in the main of the same stock. Bhils and Kolis of Eastern Gujarat are as hard to distinguish as are the Kolis and Rajputs of Western Gujarat. According to the author of the "Bombay Gazetteer" volume on Gujarat Population, the explanation of this difference seems to be that the Mihiras or Gujjars, coming into Gujarat from the west, north-west and north-east, found the plain country held by Bhils. In central parts, the new comers so dominated the earlier race that the result was a Koli hardly to be known from a Rajput. In the eastern parts, on the other hand, the new comer's element was small and intermixture produced a Koli or half-blood who

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can hardly be known from a Bhil. Similarly the Kolis in the south had a later element so weak as to have but little affected the Dubla, Dhodia and other stocks with whom it mixed. Again in the north and west, when the struggles with the Musalmans set in, new comers, classed under the general head of Rajputs, joining with the earlier settlements of Kolis, were in some cases absorbed by them and in others succeeded in raising the Kolis to their own level. Even now intermarriage goes on between the daughters of Talbada Kolis and the sons of Rajputs and the distinction between a Rajput and a Koli is one of rank than of race. In view of this reason and also because of the fact that the term "Koli" is of very indeterminate signification, loosely including widely dissimilar castes and tribes, merely because of their superficial resemblance in status and occupation, it has been determined in this census to limit its application to tribes who are content to be included in it, and to show other castes like Talabda, Khant, Makwana and Baria separately as distinct entities, especially as these represent undoubtedly the Koli aristocracy in Gujarat. Talabda is undoubtedly the highest in rank. Khant and Baria have obvious Rajput affinities. The highest families in the social sense prohibit widow remarriage in imitation of the Rajputs; and the same is true of the Khants and Barias in the north of Central Gujarat and of the Patelias of the Panch Mahals and Rewa Kantha. The above named castes have given brides to Rajputs, and failing them, to Molesalam husbands. In Central Gujarat, all except Patanwadias are known as "Dharalas,"—a term which includes Khant and Baria, but is more applicable to Talabdas. Over the border of the Sabarmati towards the east of North Gujarat, the term Dharala is unknown and the Koli aristocracy is represented by the Koli Patelia and Talabda, while the Thakarda or Pagi, holding a distinctly inferior position, proclaims his baser blood in every line of his features. The "Thakarda" or more properly "Thakore" name is also appropriated by the higher families amongst the Chunvalias (*q.v.*). Other place names include Bhalia (belonging to the Bhal country, west of Charotar).

Units of Exogamous groups—Exogamous groups have been reported from Palanpur, Mahi Kantha, the Panch Mahals and Cutch, but it is doubtful whether marriages are regulated in practice by a consideration of these clan or family names, and careful enquiry has disclosed that the important group with most Kolis of the present day is the village. In no case is marriage within the village permitted and in some cases, a regular cycle of villages has been found to exist, brides being given from village A to village B, from village B to village C and so on.

Interrelation of castes in Koli group—These classes, *e.g.* Talabda, Baria, Chunvalia, Patanwadia, etc. are distinct and, as a rule, do not intermarry. Each class is divided into a number of sub-divisions or families and members of the same sub-division or family do not intermarry. Kolis used to live as robbers. Though they have now taken to husbandry and other callings, the love of thieving has not disappeared and they contribute the largest number of convicts in the State Jails. As husbandmen, they are inferior only to Kanbis. Kolis eat fish and flesh, but owing to poverty they are generally vegetarians. They worship all Hindu gods and goddesses, but specially *Khodiyar*, *Meladi* and *Verai Matas*. The Mahikantha Kolis regard the Mahi river as their family goddess. Some Kolis in the Navsari taluka are *Matia*, *i.e.* followers of the Pirana sect. Many Kolis are followers of Bijpanth and some follow the Swaminarayan, Kabir and Ramsanehi sects. At the beginning of the present century, the Swaminarayan Acharyas are said to have reclaimed many Kolis from lives of violence and crime. In recent years a Koli *guru* called Daduram acquired great respect. Brahmans are respected by them and also used as priests; their priests mostly belong to Shrimali or Audich castes of Brahmans. Kolis are superstitious and have a firm belief in spirits and spirit possession. They employ a *bhuvo* to exorcise spirits.

Boys and girls are married after their twelfth year. The Rajput practice of marrying out of the clan is closely followed. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed. Preference is given by a widow to her deceased husband's younger brother. A Koli can divorce his wife merely by a formal declaration to that effect in writing. A Koli woman can also abandon her husband, but in that case, she must return the *palla* or dowry settled on her at the time of marriage. As a rule, Kolis burn their dead, but children under eighteen months are buried. All questions relating to marriage are settled by a *panch* or committee of *agevans* or leaders of the caste.

Chunvalia (8,185)—A caste of Kolis. They take their name from Chunval, a tract of country near Kadi, so called from its originally containing *chunvalis* or 44 villages. They are mostly found in the Mehsana district. Fifty years ago, they were the terror of North Gujarat. Led by their chiefs or *Thakardas* of partly Rajput descent, they lived in villages protected by impassable thorn fences and levied contributions from the districts round, planning, if refused, regular night attacks and dividing the booty according to recognised rules, under which live-stock and coin belonged to the chief, and cloth, grain and such articles belonged to the captors. There are still among them men of criminal habits, but as a class they have settled

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as cultivators and labourers. They have twenty-one principal sub-divisions: Abasania, Adhgama, Baroga, Basukia, Dabhi, Dhamodia, Dhandhukia, Gohel, Jandaria, Jhenjuwadia, Kanaja, Lilapara, Makvana, Palegia, Parmar, Piplia, Babaria, Sadria, Solanki, Vadhlakhia and Vaghela. They intermarry among their own class alone, but not among members of the same sub-division.

Gedia—A caste of Kolis found in the Amreli district. They are so called from Ged, the name of the tract between Porebunder and Madhavpur, in which they originally lived. They are more respectable than other Kolis, live chiefly by tillage and have given up their predatory habits. They are a good looking race and live in houses, not in *kubas* or huts like others of the labouring class. They eat no flesh, but live on fish, vegetables, millets and fruits. Their women invariably wear a coin or two as ornaments. They marry only amongst themselves and consider themselves higher than other Kolis. Together with Bhalias, they number 27,437. They numbered 3,685 in 1921, on a 20 per cent increase, they ought to be about 4,422 now.

Patanvadia (20,777)—A caste of Kolis, so called from Patan, their original home. They are also called Kohoda. They freely partake of animal food and are the only class of Kolis who eat the flesh of the buffalo. They are lower in social rank to other Kolis. Most of them have Rajput surnames such as Chavda, Dabhi, Vaghela, etc. No Talabda or any other Koli or semi-Koli caste would intrude on a Patanwadia's land or beat. But a Patanwadia would not hesitate to commit depredations on the property of other Kolis. They are strong, active and hardy. Their houses are generally small single-roomed huts with sides of wattle and daub and high peaked roof of thatch. Their farm stock sometimes includes a cow or a pair of bullocks, but almost never goats, sheep or hens. Their tools are a hoe and a plough or sometimes a cart. Of late the caste has taken some advantage of education: and in evidence can show one or two matriculates and even a graduate.

Thakarda (Hindu 190,177; Jain 8)—A caste of Kolis mainly found in the Mehsana district. They are so called from their half-Rajput descent. The bulk are low type, half aboriginal, and thriftless. These are known as Pagis. But the term "Thakarda" is of somewhat vague significance; including as it does the low typed *pagi* of the northern talukas of Mehsana *prant*, it is applied also to the Koli aristocracy amongst the Chunvalias. There is a section found in Palanpur. These Palanpur Thakardas are a distinct and prosperous group like the Talabdas of South Gujarat.

KONKANASTHA—See under Brahman.

KOTWALIA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

KUMBHAR (Hindu 50,996; Muslim 897)—Potters; the name is derived from *kumbhakar* (*kumbh* a water pot and *kar*, maker); they are generally found in all cities and villages. In some places, they are called *ojhas* and are also known as *prajapatis* (creators). Some of them have Rajput surnames, such as Chavda, Rathod, Gohel, Solanki, etc., and show the usual pretensions to Rajput descent. They are divided into nine sub-castes as follows:—Gujar, Lad, Maru, Ajmeri, Banda, Khambhati, Sami, Varia and Vatalia. The first named is the predominant section in the State. Besides working as potters, many of this caste are employed in villages as domestic servants and in towns have become carpenters or bricklayers. Those who have taken to carpentry or bricklaying call themselves Sutar-Kumbhar or Kadia-Kumbhar and claim superiority over others. Marriage between near relations is prohibited. Widows remarry, the younger brother of a deceased husband has no particular claim. They live mostly on vegetable food but some in South Gujarat take liquor and even eat flesh. Brahmans officiate at their ceremonies, and are treated on equal terms by other Brahmans. They burn their dead and perform *shradha*. Each division has its headman and settles social disputes at the meeting of all the men of the caste.

The Musalman section are descendants of Hindu converts from the Kumbhar caste. They are also called Karatia. They speak Gujarati. The men dress like poor Musalmans and women like Hindus, except that they wear silver bracelets of the Musalman pattern. They sell but do not make pots. The men work as labourers and servants. They marry among themselves and with Kathiaras or wood-cutters. With the Kathiaras, they form a *jamat*, (union) and have a headman to settle disputes.

LAD—See under Vania.

LAVAR—See under Luhar.

LEWA PATIDAR (Hindu 224,298; Jain 1,485; Arya 1,088)—A caste of landlords and cultivators. They are found all over the State, but are most numerous in the Baroda district. Kanbi is a descriptive term for the big functional group of husbandmen. Gujarat

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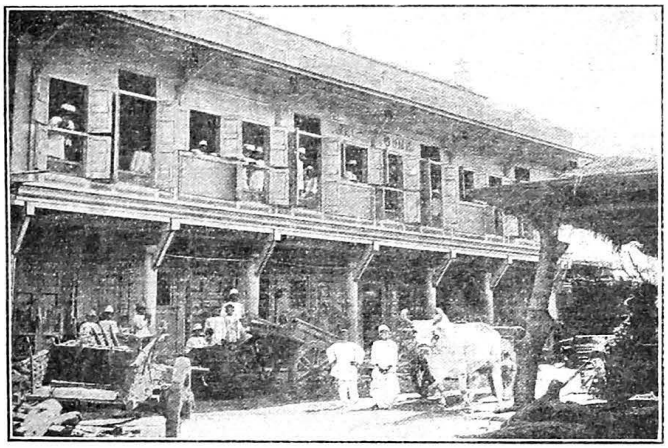
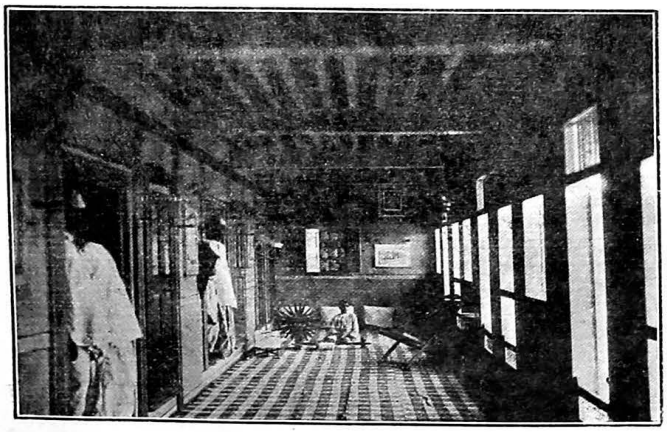
Kanbis claim to be of Kshatriya stock. There is now no doubt that they are Gujjars and came from the Punjab. Socially they are divided into Patidars or shareholders in the village lands and Kanbis or cultivators. As a general rule, Kanbis allow widow marriage, but Patidars, in imitation of the Brahmans and Vanias, do not allow it. Patidars eat with Kanbis and even take their daughters in marriage, if endowed with a good dowry. Patidars of 13 villages in the Charotar (7 under Baroda, 5 under Kaira and 1 under Cambay) are considered *kulin* and are hypergamous to the rest. They do not give their girls in marriage outside these villages, but take as wives girls from any village. They not only exact large dowries from other Patidars wishing to give them their daughters in marriage, but also practise polygamy. Within the last twenty years, there has been a change in the general attitude of the caste towards *kulin* Patidars, and in most of the villages *ekda* or solemn agreements have been made to eschew the *kulins* and to give and take in marriage only in their own social circle. For instance, the Vakal circle containing villages of Baroda and Padra mahals and some villages of Jambusar, have framed rules, providing for heavy fines for giving a daughter in marriage outside the circle. The Kahnam circle of 24 villages has similarly penalised against giving brides to Charotar. The Dhavat circle (16 villages of Karjan and southern portion of Baroda mahal) derives a large income from such fines and distributes *lahnis* (domestic utensils for eating or carrying food) to its members. The Lewa Kanbis of South Gujarat have two divisions—*Charotaria* and *Japti*—the cause of fission being the relative recency of their arrival from their original *homes* in Charotar. These two sections interdine, but do not intermarry. A curious set of prohibitions is met with in the Broach circle, which prohibits daughters from being given in marriage within the same village, or the *natra* ceremony form being performed within the precincts of the village where the widow's former husband resided. There is no headman and no caste government, except among the Kanbis and Lewa Patidars of some villages.



Exterior of a Patidar's House, Charotar

The Patidar name has now practically lost its tenurial significance and is generally affected by all Lewas, especially the socially conscious section in Central Gujarat. In South Gujarat and Kathiawad, the Lewas residing there are content to call themselves Kanbis. North and South Gujarat Kanbis are considered inferior, and even daughters are not taken from them by the hypergamous Patidar section, except surreptiously or driven by want.



Interior of a Patidar's House, Charotar

Owing to minute sub-divisions of ancestral land many of the Charotar Patidars have left off their original calling and taken to education. Many of them are now govern-

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ment servants in all its departments, there are some traders also. They are very enterprising and have gone to Africa in search of employment.

LUHANA (Hindu 13,570; Arya 27)—A corruption of Lohana. They are said to derive their name from Lohanpur or Lohokat in Multan and were originally Rathod Rajputs. They were driven by the Musalmans from the Punjab into Sindh and afterwards in the 13th century, found their way to Cutch, Kathiawad and Gujarat. In Sindh they eat flesh, are addicted to spirituous liquors, do not object to eat fish and onions and drink water from the hands of their inferiors as well as superiors in caste. Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, 292) says :—" Of the Lohanas the proverb runs—' except cats and cows they will eat anything. ' " In Cutch they still use animal food, but in Kathiawad and Gujarat they neither eat flesh nor drink spirits. Gujarat and Kathiawad Luhanas do not therefore regard those of Cutch and Sindh as belonging to their caste. Luhanas are Vaishnava of Vallabhachari and Ramanuji sects. Their family goddess is *Randel Mata*, and they are devout worshippers of Darya Pir, the spirit of the Indus, who is said to have saved them when they fled from Multan. They wear the sacred thread and allow polygamy and widow marriage. Their customs do not differ from those of the Bhatias. Their family priests are Saraswat Brahmans who dine with them. They have a headman (*patel*) but give him no personal authority. Social disputes are settled according to the opinion of the majority of the members.

They are mostly traders and are found in almost all towns and villages. This caste has many charitable, educational institutions in Bombay as well as in this State, which have large endowments.

LUHAR (Hindu 21,026; Arya 27)—Blacksmiths, from Sanskrit *lohkar*. They are found in cities and large villages. According to their account they are the descendants of one Pithvo, who was created by Parvati out of the dust clinging to Shiva's back, to prepare weapons in Shiva's war against the demons Andhkar and Dhundhakar. They have such surnames as Chavda, Chohan, Dodia, Sirohia, etc., which show that some Rajputs also must have taken to their calling. There are 13 main divisions in this caste, who neither eat together nor intermarry. They are Gujjar (12,177), Bhavnagari (266), Panchal (1,173), Sirohia (107), Surati (176), Chokia (51), Dali (30), Khambhati (1,350), Lodhaghada (47), Rupaghada (43), Pithva (2,910) and Parajia (332). Panchal Luhars claim to be Brahmans, who were degraded owing to their taking to the blacksmiths' profession, and in the present census some returned themselves as Panchal Brahmans. Luhars are strict vegetarians, except in South Gujarat, where they privately eat flesh and fish and drink liquor. In blowing the bellows and in the lighter part of the work, the Luhar is helped by the woman of his family. The competition of European ironware has forced Luhars to give up their original calling and become silversmiths, carpenters, watch repairers, etc., and in some cases field-labourers. In return for mending field tools, the villagers pay a Luhar in grain at harvest time. Marriage between near relations is avoided. Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. Luhars belong to many religious sects, such as Kabirpanthi, Swaminarayan, Ramanandi, etc. Their priests belong to many divisions of Brahmans who are known as *Luhar Gors* and are despised by other Brahmans.

A small section of Luhar has become converted to Islam. These Muslim Luhars are mostly emigrants from Sindh. The men dress like Memons with a Musalman turban, coat and trousers. The women dress like Hindus. They make knives, nut-crackers, spear-heads and daggers. They are Sunnis in religion. They marry with other Musalmans and have no separate headman or union.

MAHAR—See under Depressed Classes.

MALEK (11,206)—They are converted Hindus. Their home tongue is Gujarati in North Gujarat and Hindustani in South Gujarat. They are landlords, cultivators and constables. In their marriage and other customs, they do not differ from other converted Rajputs. As a class they are tall and fair with good features. Of men, some dress like Kathis with big turbans, tight jackets, trousers and waist cloth. Others wear the common Muslim dress. The women dress in the north like Hindus and in the south like ordinary Musalmans. The women spin but do not work in the fields. Maleks are clean, but idle and thriftless in their habits. They are poor, many of them heavily in debt. Sunnis in name, they are not however religious, few of them knowing the Koran or saying their prayers. Traditions of Mahmud of Ghazni (A.D. 1025) converting Rajputs of North Gujarat still linger in the country. To distinguish converts from the armed Rajput and Koli castes, the Musalman governors coined such names as Molesalam, Malek and Sipahi.

MANG—See under Depressed Classes.

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MARATHA (KANBI AND KSHATRIYA)—An immigrant caste from the Deccan. It has two divisions, Maratha Kshatriya (Hindu 12,155; Arya 9) and Maratha Kanbi, of which the former is hypergamous to the latter, but was not originally distinct. Maratha Kshatriyas support their claim to social superiority over Maratha Kanbis, by favouring infant marriages, forbidding the remarriage of widows and wearing the sacred thread. The Kanbi on the other hand does not claim to be a Kshatriya, allows both adult marriage and the remarriage of widows and wears no thread to indicate the twice-born status. The dividing line between the Kanbi and the Maratha is not of the nature of a permanent barrier, such for instance as that which exists between the Shenvi and Deshastha Brahmans. The Marathas proper are allowed to marry the daughters of the Kanbis. The latter would not ordinarily secure a daughter in marriage from their social superiors. The difficulty however is frequently surmounted by a well-to-do Kanbi, who rises to the higher rank as his means increase, and if common report is to be believed, adopts the title of Kshatriya with the sacred thread and its restrictions on adult and widow marriage. The superior division is supposed to consist of ninety-six families or *kula* such, as Surve, Bhonsle, Ghorpade, Salunke, Sitole, Chavan, etc. The bearers of the best names among the ninety-six *kulas* are undoubtedly of Rajput origin. In 1836, the Raja of Satara sent a Shastri to the Rana of Udaipur to make inquiries regarding the origin of the Bhonsles, a leading Maratha family. The Rana sent word that the Bhonsles and his family were one, and despatched with a messenger, Raghunathsing Zala, a letter to the same effect written by Raja Shahu in A. D. 1726 to Vaghaji Sisode of Pimple in Mewar (Udaipur). Raghunathsing is reported to have satisfied himself by inquiry at Satara of the purity of blood of certain Maratha families, *viz.*, Bhonsle, Savant, Khanvilkar, Ghorpade, Chavan, Mohite, Nimbalkar, Shirke, Mane, Jadhav, and several others. At the same time, it has to be borne in mind that several Maratha families have *kuldevak* or totems which cannot be reconciled with a pure Rajput origin. Sun flower, *kadam* tree, the mango, the conch shell and the peacock's feather are examples of these totems which are rapidly falling into disuse but are still worshipped on the occasion of marriages and when a new house is occupied for the first time. The Maratha and Kokani Kanbis together numbered 4,834 (besides 9 Aryas) in this census.

MATIA (Hindu 3,530; Arya 28)—A caste of Kanbis mostly found in the Baroda and Navsari districts. They were originally Lewa Kanbis, who came to be called *matia*, because they followed the *mat* or doctrine of *Pir*. About 300 years ago, a company of Lewa Kanbis on their way to Benares, put up at Pirana, where the saint Imamshah prevailed upon them to abstain from the hardships of a journey saying that he would show Benares to them there. This miracle he is said to have performed, and then these Kanbis looked upon him and accepted him as their holy saint. They thus acquired many Musalman customs and observances and had to separate from the Lewa Kanbis. They are strict vegetarians eating neither fish nor flesh and drink no spirits. They also do not use asafœtida, garlic and onions. They follow the Atharva Veda and call themselves *Satpanthi*. They worship the tombs of Musalman saints whose mausoleums are at Pirana, Navsari, Ahmedabad and Burhanpur. Their sacred book is a collection of religious precepts called *Shaiksha Patri* made by Imamshah, the saint of Pirana. Some of them learn this book by heart and are called *Kaka* or devotee. A family of the *Kakas* officiates at a temple at Kukas in the Sinore taluka. Matias have three religious divisions, *Panchia* or followers of Surabhai's mausoleum, originally managed by five devotees; *Satia* or followers of Baba Mahomed's Mausoleum, originally managed by seven devotees; and *Athia* or followers of Bakr Ali's mausoleum, originally managed by eight devotees. Except in being called by different saints, these divisions do not differ in belief or in practice. Matias keep *Ramjan* fast and observe as holiday the *Uras* or saint's day. Besides Musalman holidays, they observe as days of fasting, *Holi*, *Akshatrij*, *Divaso*, *Balev* and *Divali*. Their chief places of pilgrimage are Navsari, Vemar, Pirana and Burhanpur. Widow marriage is allowed, the widow of a man marrying his younger brother. Divorce is lawful. A bachelor cannot marry a widow or a divorced woman without first undergoing a mock marriage with the *shami* tree (*Prospis Spicigera*). Matias bury their dead. They have no headman. Caste disputes are settled by the leading men. Fines inflicted on the offenders are used in purchasing vessels for the caste's use or are sent as presents to the saint's shrines.

From 1880 there has been a split among the Matias. Through the preaching of an ascetic called Nirmaldas, who told them of their Lewa Kanbi origin, some 200 families calling themselves Vaishnava Matias formed themselves into a separate caste as distinguished from the Pirana Matias. The seceding or Vaishnava Matias have joined the Ramanandi and Dadupanthi sects. They worship images of *Ranchhodji* or *Dwarkanathji* and go on pilgrimage to Benares, Mathura, etc. Vaishnav and Pirana Matias do not eat together. The Vaishnav Matias have abandoned all Musalman customs, call Brahmans to officiate on marriage and other occasions and in all respects live like Lewa Kanbis. But Lewa Kanbis do not dine with them.

MAVCHI—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

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MEMON (8,971)—A corruption of *muamin* or believers, a name given to the descendants of Musalman converts from the Hindu castes of Luhanas and Kachhias. The conversion first took place in the middle of the 15th century in Sindh under the persuasion of one Saiyad Eusuf ud-Din Kadri, a descendant of a saint in Bagdad. At that time, Manekji, the head of the eighty-four *nukhs* of the Luhana community, was in favour at Nagarthatha in the court of a Samma ruler named Markat Khan. Markat Khan became a follower of the Saiyad and Manekji, his two sons and 700 other Luhana families followed their ruler's example. On conversion, the saint changed the name of the community to Muamin or believers. Before leaving Sindh, he blessed his people,—a blessing to which the Memons trace their fruitfulness and success in trade. From Sindh, the Memons spread to Cutch and Kathiawad and are now to be found in all important towns in India and also in Burma, Siam, Singapur, Java and East Africa. They wear the moustaches short, according to the *sunnat* (practice) of the Prophet and the beard about six inches long at the most. Most of them shave the head. Both males and females blacken their eyelids with collyrium. Memon women redden their palms, fingers and finger nails and their soles and toes with henna. Memons are fond of costly clothes. The men are fond of gold embroidery and the women of gay colours. They are great eaters and fond of good cheer. They have two divisions, Kachchhi and Halai. The Kachchhis are the descendants of market gardening Luhanas of Sindh and the Halai from Halar. From Halai, there have been three offshoots called *Dhoka* (belonging to Dholka), *Bhavnagari* (from Bhavnagar) and *Vervada* (from Veraval). The Halai Memons are darker and smaller than the Kachchhi Memons, with whom they never intermarry. In spite of the Sindh strain in the Kachchhi and the Kathiawadi strain in the Halai, the speech of both the divisions is fundamentally the same. Contact with Urdu-speaking Musalmans has given all Memons colloquial knowledge of Urdu. Both are Sunnis of the Hanafi School. As a class, they are religious, though some of them, especially the Kachchhi, keep to their former non-Islamic social usages. The most notable of these is their refusal to allow their daughters and widows any inheritance. They are very fond of performing pilgrimage to Mecca and about 50 per cent of them have the honourable prefix of *Haji* or pilgrim. They believe in astrology and consult astrologers, a practice condemned by the Prophet. The religious head of the Kachchhi Memons lives at Mundra in Cutch. He pays his followers a yearly or two-yearly visit when a money subscription called *kheda*, from Rs. 2 to Rs. 200, is gathered from every Memon family and is paid to the *Pir*. Besides having a high priest in Sarhind in the Punjab, who visits his Gujarat followers every five years, the Halai Memons have a provincial head or Mukhi at Dhoraji in Kathiawad. He hears and passes orders in marriage and divorce matters and sometimes in inheritance cases.

MEVADA—See under Brahman.

MOCHI (Hindu 10,520 ; Jain 52)—Leather workers. They are found in towns and in most of the villages. According to their own account, they were Rajputs living near Champaner, who got their present name, because one of them made a pair of stockings or *moja* out of a tiger's skin. Traces of their Rajput descent appear in their tribal surnames : Chohan, Chudasma, Dabhi, Gohel, Jhala, Makvana, Maru, Parmar, Rathod, Solanki and Vaghela. Their local divisions are Ahmedabadi, Khambhati, and Surati, who eat together but do not intermarry. Besides being divided according to their settlement, they have split up into many sections, according to their callings. The chief of these craft sections are Chandlagara or makers of lac spangles, Rasania or electro-platers, Chitara or painters, Minagara or workers in enamel, Panagara or gold and silver foil makers, Pakhari or makers of ornamental horse hangings, Netragara or makers of idols' eyes, Jingara or saddlers, Dhalgar or shield-makers and Sikligara or grinders. The Jingari is the largest, the Chandlagara comes next ; the other sections are hardly met with in the State. The different sub-divisions eat together, but those Mochis who have left off working on leather, and especially the Chandlagaras, Chitaras and Rasanias have, of late, separated into separate castes and raised themselves to the level of bricklayers, carpenters, masons and other artisans. The Mochi holds a low position in social scale, and though he does not touch Khalpas, Dheds or other depressed classes, a high caste Hindu formerly considered the touch of a Mochi a pollution. Mochis used to eat fish and flesh, but of late years, owing to many of them becoming followers of Swaminarayan, the use of flesh and liquor has grown less and in some places has ceased. For this reason, and also on account of the advance of the caste in education, the Mochi has lost his " untouchable " character in Gujarat, unlike other provinces and is freely admitted to schools, etc., and mingle without restraint with other classes. In all their ceremonies, they employ Brahman priests, who are called Mochi Gors and are despised by other Brahmans. Girls are married before ten and boys at any age after eight. Polygamy is allowed and divorce is granted. Widow remarriage is allowed. The off-putting of a Mochi has passed in a proverb " *Saini sanj ane Mochinu vahanu* " (the tailor's to-night and the shoe-maker's to-morrow morning). As a caste, Mochis are generally unambitious. The proverb " *Mel Karvat Mochina Mochi* " (Even if sawn in two, a Mochi remains a Mochi) illustrates that they are quite satisfied with their lot. The proverb has its origin in the following tradition :—It is said to have been the belief in olden times, that if a man got himself sawn in

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two at Benares, he would get the position he wishes at his next birth. Accordingly a Mochi went to Benares and desired to be sawn in two. The person in charge of the sacred saw asked him what caste he would like to have at his next birth. He pondered for a while and came to the conclusion that the caste of Mochi was preferable to all others, and openly declared "*Mel Karvat Mochina Mochi.*" The moral usually deduced from this is that each generally likes his own caste. Each sub-division of the caste has its headman. Social disputes are settled at a meeting of all men of the caste. There is a small section of Mochis, converted to Islam. Mochis observe every new moon day as a non-working day.

MODH BRAHMAN—See under Brahman.

MODH VANIA—See under Vania.

MOLESALAM (10,862)—Converts to Islam, made from among the Rajputs, chiefly in the reign of Mahamad Begda (A. D. 1459-1513). The name is derived from *Maula-Islam*, meaning masters in Islam. When an infidel was converted to Islam, it was the custom to call him *Maula*. Molesalams dine with other Musalmans, and though they sometimes take flesh, ordinarily they eat vegetables like Hindus. A Molesalam will marry his daughter to a Shaikh Saiyad, Mughal or Babi, but not, as a rule, to Musalmans of the lower order. The son of a chief may get a Rajput girl in marriage. But other Molesalams marry either among their own people or the poorer classes of Musalmans. They employ *kazis* and *maulvis*, but also maintain their old Brahman family priests and support Bhats and Charans, whom the rich engage to while away their leisure by reciting poetry and the poor to serve as priests at marriages. Indoors, a Molesalam wears a waistcloth ; out of doors a turban, coat and trousers, with a cloth wound round the waist or thrown over the shoulders like a Rajput. The women wear a *salla*, a bodice and a petticoat.

MUGHAL (1,008)—They are of two distinct classes, the Persian and the Indian Mughals. Persian Mughals are the descendants of Persian political refugees and merchants. They form a distinct community and generally marry among themselves. They are chiefly found in cities. The second or Indian Mughals are the descendants of the Mughal conquerors of India and are found in all parts of the State. Like the Persian Mughals, the men place the title of *Mirza* (born of a great man) before their names and add *Beg* (lord) after them, as Mirza Mahomed Beg. The women add *Khanam* to their names, as Hussaini Khanam. In appearance they do not differ from ordinary Musalmans. In religion, they are Sunnis. They are occupied as cultivators, constables and sepoys.

MUMNA (13,829)—From *momin* (believers) they are the descendants of Hindus of many castes converted to the Shiah form of the faith by different members of the Ismaliya Saiyads, of whom Imamshah of Pirana was the most distinguished. Most of them on Palanpur side shave the head and wear the beard, but those in the vicinity of Ahmedabad keep the *choti*, shave the face and look like Kanbis. They put on their old Kanbi turbans. Their females dress like Hindus. Almost all eat flesh, but those living in the Kahnam tract of the Baroda district are strict vegetarians. Instead of the *Koran*, they read Imamshah's book of religious rules and also worship Hindu gods. Circumcision is practised and the dead are buried. Both males and females have Hindu names. In addition to Musalman marriage, the Kahnam Mumnas call in a Brahman and go through the Hindu ceremony. Like Hindus, women wail and beat the breast at deaths. Palanpur and Baroda Mumnas do not intermarry. Each settlement has its union, headman and code of rules, which are generally well-kept. The Kahnam Mumnas are far more Hinduised than those found in North Gujarat.

There is a movement in the caste for reform, and a tendency on the part of some towards Hinduism. This has resulted in fission into two factors ; the feelings are so intense that married girls are not sent to their husbands if belonging to the opposite faction. In this State they are found mostly in Sidhpur and Patan mahals of the Mehsana district. They are agriculturists but some of them are hackvictoria drivers in Bombay. The agriculturists have begun to call themselves Mumna Patidars.

NADIA—See under Depressed Classes.

NAGAR BRAHMAN—See under Brahman.

NAGAR VANIA—See under Vania.

NAYAKDA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

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OD (Hindu 2,018)—Chiefly found in Baroda and Mehsana *prants*, and to a smaller extent in Navsari. They are a caste of earth diggers,—by tradition Sidhraj Jayasing is credited with bringing them to dig the Sahasralinga tank at Patan. The bulk of the tribe are residents of the Karnatak. From the name, they appear to be connected with Odra *desh* or Orissa, but they claim a Kshatriya origin and state that they are descendants of Bhagirath, son of Sagar. According to the *Ras mala*, Sidhraj brought these Ods from Malwa and fell in love with a beautiful woman of their number, named Jasma, who declined his favours and when pursued by him, committed suicide. She cursed the king, while dying, and declared that the tank would not hold water. She further announced that in future no *Odani* (Od woman) should be beautiful. Whatever the reason, it is true that the Od women are not comely. The skill of the caste in earth work and masonry is well known all over India ; but originally of the same ethnic stock, the tribe must have recruited itself from other castes and even now accepts applications for admission (in Karnatak) from Lingayats, Kurubs and such like. The applicant is received into the caste with ceremony, his head and moustaches are shaved and the tip of his tongue is branded with a burning *nim* stick and he is made to drink of holy water. If the applicant is a female, she is spared the shaving but is stripped of her bodice and glass bangles. There are four territorial divisions : Maratha and Kanarese, Gujarati, Sindhi and Pardeshi, each differing from the rest in details of ceremonial. Gujarati Ods state they are Deccani immigrants and some are followers of the Ramdasi sect. Gujarat Ods have two endogamous sections : proper and *navabhai*, which dine together but do not intermarry. Exogamous sections exist like Bhatti, Chuhan, Solanki, allying each to the Rajput clan of the same name. Marriage of widows is permitted : so also the levirate or *diyarvatu* (which is even compulsory in Kathiawad). Divorce is allowed. The ceremony consists in calling the wife publicly mother or sister, which frees the husband. They are Hindus, the bulk worshipping Shiva, but many are Swaminarayanis or Ramdasis. Their religious teacher is Baba Gorakhnath. Their priests are village Brahmans, who do not however eat with them. The Ods bury their dead with the head pointing to the North. They eat flesh of goats, sheep, deer, and fish and drink liquor. Their dialect is a *patois* which is discussed in the Chapter on Language.

OSWAL—See under Vania.

PARSI (7,127)—The name means the people of Pars or Fars, the south-west province of Persia, the capital of which is now Shiraz. The present Parsis of India are the descendants of those who were forced out of their country more than 1,280 years ago by the Arabs, who conquered and well-nigh annihilated them. They landed first at Diu, then at Cambay and subsequently near Sanjan, a little to the north of modern Daman, where they kindled the sacred fire called Iranshah which now burns at Udwada, in thanksgiving of their safe arrival; but the traditional belief is that they brought it unextinguished from Persia. The Hindu king of Sanjan allowed them free liberty to follow their own religion, while they had import certain ceremonies and customs of the Hindus. Very little is known of them for over 800 years after this settlement. But they still follow their own religion in laborious rituals, which have been handed down to the present day. Among the Parsis, there is a sort of hierarchy, though not on the rigid method of the Hindus, but there are no castes. The Mobeds are to them what the Brahmans are to the Hindus. The stronghold of Mobeds is the Baroda town of Navsari, because the Parsis migrated to it from Sanjan and Bahrot and have thrived and flourished there ever since. No religious ceremony can be performed, no marriage-tie can be knit, no prayers after the dead be recited and no funeral services can be held except by the Mobeds. When a child is seven years old, the ceremony of investing it with the *kasti* or sacred thread is performed. The Kasti is made by the intertwinings of 72 strong threads out of wool and woven in a special way on a sort of loom. It is sufficiently long to go thrice round the waist and to allow of its being knotted up in certain ways, which every child is taught to do. Mobed (priests) and Behdin (laymen) could not intermarry 50 years before. But the restriction is not much observed.

Parsis are divided into two divisions, called Shehenshahi and Kadami. This division arose in A.D. 1745 from a dispute regarding the reckoning of the year. Shehenshahis are those who kept to the Indian reckoning and the Kadamis, those who adopted the Persian practice. Formerly intermarriage was shunned but it is now common. Conversions from one division into another are rare.

Parsis speak the Gujarati language and put on a head-dress peculiar to them. The priests dress wholly in white. Parsi women wind a white piece of muslin round the head.

Fire is the chief object of Parsi veneration and the Fire temple is the public place of Parsi worship. Besides the leading rites and ceremonies called *jashan*, *gambhar* and *muktad*, Parsis have many minor practices and observances to which more or less a religious sanction is attached. A Parsi must always keep his head and feet covered, he must never be without the sacred shirt and cord, must never smoke and must wash his hands, if he puts his fingers in his mouth. After shaving his face, a Parsi bathes before touching anything.

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Parsis followed many of the practices and beliefs of Hindus and Musalmans. They made offerings to the Hindu *Holi*, offered vows and sacrificed goats and fowls to *Shitala Devi*, and some offered oil to *Hanuman*. They offered vows and made presents to *Tabuts* and at the tombs of Musalman *Pirs*. Their women had great faith in amulets which they bought from sorcerers and wore round their neck or in their hair to win the favour of their husbands. Most of these superstitious practices have now died out of the community as a whole on account of the spread of education.

PATANWADIA—See under Koli.

PATHAN (15,884)—One of the four classes into which the regular Musalmans are divided. They are of Afghan origin. The men add *Khan* to their names and women *Khatun* or *Khatu*. The name probably means people of the Uplands. Burton derives it from the Arabic to mean "victorious." Afghan traditions trace the name to Batan (rudder) said to have been given by the Prophet of Islam to their great ancestor, Abdur Rashid. It is now however generally agreed that the name Pathan is the Indian form of the name "Pushtun" (plural Pushtanah), derived from an old Iranian word *Parshti* ("hill"). The name first appears in Indian Literature through Varaha Mihira (A. D. 550) who mentions the race as Avgana (*vide Brihat Samhita*, Chapter XIV).

Pathans came originally to Gujarat as soldiers and merchants and are of two classes—old settlers and *vilaitis* (newcomers). The descendants of the first have by intermixture lost their original character. The new settlers are tall, with a ruddy olive complexion. They have a bad name locally for greed and are relentless as creditors. A few are merchants and horse dealers. The bulk are soldiers. All are *sunnis* by religion. The unlettered among them carry their fervour to fanaticism. But the State Pathans have taken kindly to education, sending their children to schools and universities. Many have taken to service, a few have risen in the service of Indian States.

PINJARA (4,764)—Cotton-cleaners. A term applied to Hindu converts who follow the profession of cotton cleaning. A pinjara is a cotton scutcher, who striking a bow with a heavy wooden plectrum, uses the vibrations of the bow-string to separate the fibres of the cotton, to arrange them side by side and to part them from dirt and other impurities. Some of them have left their traditional occupation after the introduction of cotton mills and are now shop-keepers, bricklayers, pedlars, oil-pressers, etc. They are ashamed of their old name of Pinjara and call themselves Vohra or Dhunak Pathans. In villages they put on Kanbi-like turbans and in towns *fentas*. Their women dress like Hindu females.

POMLA (25)—A curious caste found in the City of Baroda. Its members spoke a dialect which resembled the Telugu. Both males and females have now adopted Gujarati names, such as Haribhai, Narshi, Jamni, Kashi, etc. They live upon making and selling toys, brooms and baskets of palm leaves and seem to have migrated into Gujarat from the Madras Presidency about two hundred years ago. They had the custom prevalent among other primitive peoples in different parts of the world, requiring that the husband should be doctored while the wife gives birth to a child. This has given rise to the proverb :—"*Pomli jane are Pomlo khai*," which is applied when one enjoys the fruit while another undergoes the labour for earning it. Immediately after delivery the female was made to drink the juice of the bark of the nimb tree, and a quantity of oil. She was then taken out of the house and was not allowed to enter it for five days during which time the male lay confined taking the usual medicines. The Pomlas used to say that they did not lie confined merely to observe a custom ; that they actually felt indisposed during the period and that the indisposition was but a mark of favour of the Mata or goddess and that immoral ones among them being outside the Mata's protection were not allowed by the Mata to lie confined. They have small settlements in Nadiad, Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat also. At every twelve years, a gathering of this caste takes place at Dumral Bhagol in Nadiad in honour of the Mata, when those who are specially favoured of the goddess perform various miraculous feats such as walking on fire, etc. In the 1921 Census, they were not returned at all. In 1931, only eight families were recorded.

Remarriage is not common among the Pomlas, the belief being that their tutelary goddess *Lakshmi Mata* does not favour those who perform it.

Special enquiries were made on this occasion as to whether their total number was recorded. It was found that the enumeration was complete. The community has one literate, and only one old man who could remember anything about the traditions of their origin. The caste is now completely Gujarati speaking, its Madrasi origin being entirely forgotten. The curious custom at birth recorded above does not now exist and the so-called analogy with *couvade* no longer holds good.

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PORWAD—See under Vania.

PRABHU (Hindu 3,490; Arya 9)—A caste of the Kshatriya class, originally immigrants from the Deccan. Prabhus are found in all the divisions of the State. Their main occupation is government service. They are divided into Chandraseniya Kayastha and Pathare who neither interdine nor intermarry. There are no sub-divisions amongst them. At one time, *Davné* Prabhus were considered a sub-division of Chandraseni Kayastha Prabhus, who took food with them, but did not allow marriage relations. But now that *Davné* Prabhus were found to be true Chandraseni Kayastha Prabhus and were so called simply on account of their residence in the District of Daman and that 'Damni' was changed into 'Davne,' the two sections are now treated as one without any distinction, and intermarriage is now allowed.

PRIMITIVE AND FOREST TRIBES (Hindu 267,161; Tribal 44,890; Arya 130; Christian 538)—Under this term are included all tribes of whose coming to Gujarat no traditions remain, and who at one time holding the plain country were ousted from their towns and strongholds by the Kolis, cultivating Brahmans, Kanbis, Rajputs and other waves of northern settlers, and except a few, who were kept near villages as servants or bondsmen, were driven by their conquerors mainly into the country of hill and forest that borders Gujarat on the east. With many minor clans and family divisions this section of the people is divided mainly into thirteen sections of which the Bhil, the Chodhra, the Dhodia (or Dhulia), the Dubla, the Gamit and the Nayakda are the chief. From the Bhil and Dubla sections there have been other offshoots, who have cut away from their parental stock and formed themselves into distinct tribes. The Vasawa, Mavchi, and Tadvi are thus tribes caused by fission from the great Bhil tribe. Similarly, Talavias have cut away from their Dubla congeners. In Central Gujarat, near Mahi Kantha and where the Panch Mahals stretch into the uplands of Malwa, Bhils and Nayakdas muster strong; and among the spurs of the Rajpipla hills in the forest-clad uplands of Vajpur, Umarpada and South Songadh, there is a concentration of Bhils, Chodhras, Dhodias, Dublas, Nayakdas and Varlis. The margin gives a complete list of these forest and hill tribes met within this State; in all they number 18. Of the origin of these tribes, though nothing certain is known, their names, their languages and their customs show that they reached Gujarat, some from the north, others from the east, and a third section from the south. With most of them, two influences have for ages been at work blotting out what was individual in their character and manners. The evergrowing pressure of stronger tribes, driving them back to wilder and more unhealthy lands, kept lowering them to a uniform level of poverty and ignorance and the intermixture of higher class Hindus especially of Rajputs, on the other hand served as a medium of contact with higher and more civilised communities and the introduction of better blood and more spiritual rites and observances. Though showing considerable varieties of feature, colour, and size, the aboriginals are, on the whole, smaller and darker than the rest of the Hindu population.

1	Bavcha
2	Bhil
3	Chodhra
4	Dhanka
5	Dhodia
6	Dubla
7	Gamit
8	Kathodia
9	Kolgha
10	Kokna
11	Kotwalia
12	Mavchi
13	Nayakda
14	Tadvi
15	Talavia
16	Valvi
17	Varli
18	Vasawa

Housing, Furniture and Social Condition—It would be of interest here to give a brief description of a Raniparaj dwelling. It is generally a hut sometimes with mud walls but oftener of wattled bamboos or sticks smeared with cowdung or mud. The roof is peaked or conical and has deep overhanging eaves; it is either covered with large flat tiles or thatched with grass or teak and palm leaves. It is generally situated by itself in a large cleanly kept enclosure. Of the household goods the stock is small. In the hut, besides the sleeping mat or a rough bedstead, the stone handmill, a pestle and mortar and a roll of blanket or torn coverlet, there is nothing but a few pots and cups, most of them of clay. Some own brass and copper dishes but a few have more than a scanty stock of cattle, some goats and fowls and a few field tools. On the next page are given two photographs showing the outside and the interior of a Dhodia house in Navsari taluka which very well illustrate the above description. Their store of goods is of the scantiest particularly in the wilder regions where modern influences have so far not penetrated. Of farm stock a few have ploughing cattle and a cow or she-buffalo, but most have only goats, cocks and hens. Their field tools are a hoe, a pick and an axe, and in the case of those who have cattle, a plough. Except in South Gujarat where the men of good families wear short cotton trousers, cotton jackets and a cap or turban, their dress is of the cheapest and scantiest. The men wear two coarse pieces of white cloth wound the one round the head, the other round the middle. The women wear the shortest robes, tucked almost to the top of the leg and worn with or without bodice. Of ornaments the men wear in their ears and on their fingers a few rings of tin or silver. The women, besides the strings of shells and beads with which many of them used to be laden, wear broad plain bands of brass, bone or wood, two or three at a time and sometimes rising in tiers on their legs from the ankle to near the knee, and on the arm from the wrist to the elbow. Under recent modern influences, the

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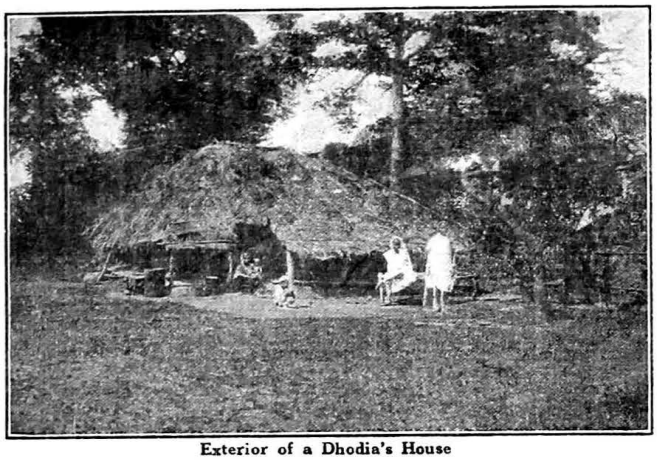
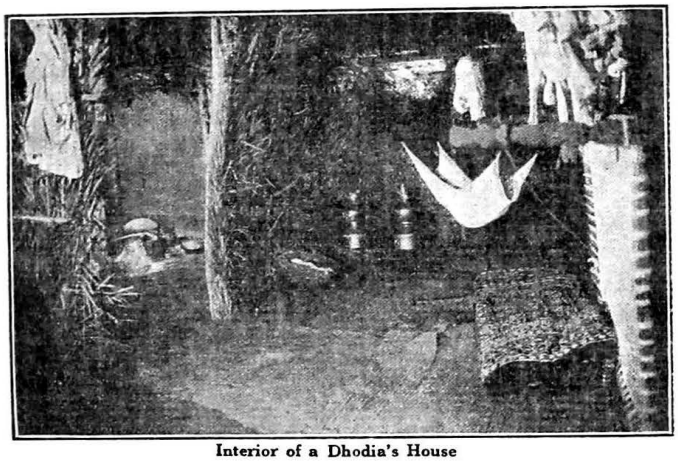


Exterior of a Dhodia's House



Interior of a Dhodia's House

practice of covering their arms and hands with such decorations is being practically given up, particularly in the settled villages of Vyara and Mahuva talukas, where under the influence of teachers and state schools, the more decorous and comely habiliments of their Gujarat neighbours have come to be adopted.

Food—The bulk of the aboriginal classes eat the coarest grain boiled in water. Want of thrift and love of drink compel most of them, during several months in a year, to live on borrowed grain, on wild fruits, berries and roots, on game and on liquor. Though all eat animal food, most of them refuse the flesh of the cow or of any animal found dead. Only a few eat the ass, the monkey or the rat. All have passionate craving for strong drink, and for their draught of toddy palm or beer or their glass of 'mahuda' (*bassia latifolia*) spirit they will recklessly barter away their whole stock of grain.

Occupation—Except a few police messengers and village watchmen, the aboriginal tribes are peasants, wood-cutters, basket-makers and labourers. In the Rasti talukas of Navsari or in Baroda, many among the Dublas and Talavias have shown themselves to be hardworking and successful farmers and in parts also of Central Navsari, Chodhras, Dublas and Dhulias have been able, under the influence of Anavala Brahmans and Kanbis, to grow rich crops of rice and garden produce; but for the most part their tillage is slovenly—yielding only a scanty harvest of the coarsest grains. Along the eastern frontier, especially in the southern forests of the Rani mahals they are still unsettled, moving from place to place, burning brushwood and tree-loppings and sowing seed in the ashes.

Religion—Most of these forest tribes which have forsaken aboriginal belief can be considered as Hindus. The *Bombay Gazetteer* of 1901, Volume IX-Part I, remarks that there are no Musalman Bhils in Gujarat. Mr. Enthoven regards Tadvis as half Musalmans being the descendants of Bhil women and Musalman men and tracing their origin at about the time of Aurangzeb but he presumably refers to the section of that name of Khandeshi Bhils. The Tadvis of this State who are found only in Baroda *prant* are all Hindus. Most extensive enquiries were made in all the villages, where they reside; and there is not the least trace of Muslim influence. They do not keep beards nor do they circumcise; they generally bury their dead, but so do other Hindu tribes, for burning is a matter of expense which only the well-to-do among them can afford. As the Rev. Enoch Hedberg, D. Litt, points out (*vide* Appendix N, page 23, in the Bombay Census Report of 1921), "all Bhils even the most wild and backward, with the exception of a small number which has turned Muhammedans or Christians, declare themselves to be Hindus. And as such they are accepted by Native Christians, Muslims and Hindus alike. In a tract

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where there are Christian or Muhammedan converts from among the Bhils, those who stick to their ancestral religion are everywhere and by everyone called Hindu-Bhils. This is the case, to give only one instance, even among the very wild Bhils of the Akrani. And to tell them that they are not Hindus would be an insult.

"As to their conformity to the main points in Hinduism it is sufficient to mention :—

(1) that they observe caste,

(2) celebrate the Hindu festivals, and

(3) worship Hindu gods and goddesses.

"It is true that their caste feelings on the whole are not so strong as among the Hindus in general. But caste is there ; and its spirit manifests itself strongly enough at certain occasions. The Mahars, Chamars, Mangs, Holars and other low caste Hindus are looked down upon by all respectable Bhils to whatever tribe or class they may belong. They would never take food from their hands or accept them by marriage into their caste. Even to touch them is defiling.

"The religious festivals or holy days kept by the Bhils are the same as those kept by the Hindus—*holi, dasera, divali*. Even the petty Hindu festivals are more and more being observed by them. The Hindu Pantheon of gods, goddesses, *avatars*, apotheosis, etc., has been taken over by the Bhils. They bring them their sacrifices and worship them. Admittedly they have their tribal or local deities too. But so have other Hindus all over India. A good deal of Animism and even Animatism is still practised among them. This is however more or less the case not only in the lower strata of Hinduism, but to a great extent among Buddhists, Jews and even Muslims, not to speak of such Christians as uneducated Copts and Russian farmers. There may still in most cases be noted a difference between a common Bhil and an ordinary Hindu. But the difference is more of a racial or ethnological nature than a religious one, and is rapidly disappearing.

"To conclude, the Bhils should in this respect be accorded the same rights as are given to other Indians and professors of other religions the whole world over—to be taken at their word in religious matters. They are as good Hindus as many other low class people of this country. When they profess themselves to be Hindus they ought to be classified as such."

Apart from the above testimony, there is ample evidence, as shown in the Chapter on Religion, that since the Mata movement of 1921, there is a genuine Hinduising wave amongst these tribes. Many have become regular Kabirpanthis or Ramanandi Vaishnavas. Some have joined the Kaivalya Panth. (Group V of Hindu Sects, *q.v.* in Chapter on Religion.)

Social Organisation—These tribes appoint a headman from amongst them but there is no rule as to who should be appointed. Any respectable man who is trustworthy and well conditioned is appointed as a *patel*, but if the parents do not belong to the same clan, this fact works as a disability for appointment.

The constitution of the *panch* differs in the various tribes. These *panch* committees give their decisions in matters of marriage and social disputes, which are binding on the whole community. Amongst the Bhils, however, the *nayak* (leader) and the *karbhari* together pronounce in caste matters. With the Gamits, again, the *patel, karbhari* and *pradhan* (minister?) form a committee to decide social matters. The *pradhan's* duty is to bring all people together.

With the Dublas, the leaders of two or three villages form the *panch*. People are ex-communicated but on payment of fine, they are taken back to the castes.

With the Chodhras, those of Naldhara (in the Mahuva taluka) are considered to be chief and all important matters are decided with their consent. Petty questions are disposed by the village leaders. Dhodias and Nayakas have looser territorial consciousness : leaders of their respective groups in each village work as *panchas*. Amongst the Vasawas, those with *nayak* as surname used to be chosen as *patils*, but now the distinction is done away with. Any adult man, taking a forward part in the community is appointed *patel*, and he is assisted by a *karbhari* and a *pradhan*. With Valvis, Kotwalias and Kathodias, the caste *agewans* act as panchas. In Baroda district particularly in Vaghodia taluka caste organisation is more in evidence—the Bhils there have not only *panchas* but a *sarpanch* and have regularly drawn up caste rules. In Sankheda and Tilakwada, leaders of each caste arbitrate for its members.

From the above it will be plain that there is only a small residuum of belief which can be called Animistic or rather Animetistic as distinguished from Hinduism. Animism of the unalloyed type which worships inanimate objects as spirits or gods hardly exists amongst the

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aborigines of to-day. The greater deities worshipped by these tribes are the *Gohamayamadi*, the *Devalimadi*, the *Vira Mayamadi*, the *Kavadia Dev* and the *Kalo Kakad*. The first three are female deities and their sex seems to indicate that worship of purely inanimate nature has given place to anthropromorphism. In addition, the preponderence in aboriginal worship of the female principle as shown in these and the other *Matas* like the *Khodiar Mata* of the Bhil, the *Mori Mata* and the *Kalka Mata* of the Dublas and the *Bhavani* of the Dhodia and the Nayakda, are traces of a primitive, perhaps matriarchal social organisation which existed long before Vedic Aryanism. But in spite of these excrescences, the chracteristic attitude of tribal belief is different from Hinduism. The worship of the *magar* (alligator) and the *vagh* (tiger) is reminiscent of this characteristic attitude. There is indeed some dim notion of the supreme spirit, but aboriginal worship is wholly indifferent towards it. It is interesting to see how the sun, the moon and the great stellar constellations are considered differently from Hindu mythology amongst these tribes. Thus the sun and the moon are considered male gods generally amongst these tribes, but in Songadh, the Dhodias consider the sun as male and the moon as female. The Orion's belt is known as the *haran* (deer,) the Heides as *govalia* (cowherd); the Great Bear in Mahuva, a more sophisticated area, is picturesquely described as *Bhagwan no khatlo* (God's bedstead). The Milky Way is variously represented: in Mahuva it is the "Way to Heaven" (*swarga no rasto*); in Songadh it becomes the "Ghost's Pathway" (*bhut wat*); in Tilakwada, most picturesque of all it is the way frequented by mothers-in-law and the daughters-in-law (*sasu vahu ni wat*). The dark spot on the face of the moon is said to be the banyan tree on which the witches are hanged; in Tilakwada amongst the Tadvis, the spot is called the mark or brand of the *bhabhi* (brother's wife). The rainbow has a curious explanation in Tilakwada, where it is said that when snakes are breathing it comes into existence; in Songadh and Vyara, the rainbow is believed to be Ram's or Indra's bow. If it appears in the East, rain is prophesised, but if on the West, the reverse, *i.e.*, a drought is bound to happen. Thunder amongst the tribes is caused by the sons of the Rain god playing at balls. No definite beliefs in the soul's resting place after death seem to be entertained by any of the tribes. In Songadh and Mahuva the belief is that the soul goes out somewhere, to the firmament or at any rate out of the world. In Vyara a witch is supposed to swallow all souls after death.

Bavcha (1,186)—An early tribe mostly found in the Songhad taluka of the Navsari district. They accompanied the Gaekwads as grooms, and have settled in Baroda, Patan and other places. Their women still dress like the women of the early tribes. They are occupied as grooms, grass-sellers, bricklayers and day-labourers. All Bavchas are Hindus.

A special appendix is devoted to their language Bavchi and its affinities to Mavchi (*Vide* Appendix VIII).

Bhil (Hindu 53,235; Tribal 1,307)—An aboriginal tribe, generally very dark in colour and very wild in appearance. The men are muscular, well-built and of a medium height. The women are well-made, but have coarse irregular features. Among the men, the hair of the head is, as a rule, worn long. The women fasten their hair in braids or plaits brought low down near each temple. Formerly they used to live in huts in their own fields. But now-a-days they live in groups of houses on the village side.

The Bhil's usual dress is a cloth wound round the loin and long strip twisted round the head. The women commonly dress in a large *ghagra* (petticoat), a bodice and a *sari* wrapped round the body and brought over the head. They tattoo their faces and pierce their ears and noses for wearing ornaments. Bracelets of tin or brass cover the arm from the wrist to the elbow. Glass and lac bangles are also worn.

Bhils eat all animals except the ass, horse, camel, rat, snake and monkey. Formerly they were always changing their houses and lands, but most of them have settled in villages and till regularly though roughly, the same fields. Fifty years ago there were almost daily complaints of their daring robberies. And though they are even now considered a criminal class, most of them are gradually becoming quiet and law-abiding cultivators. Though not considered one of the classes whose touch defiles, Bhils hold a very low place in the social scale and no high caste Hindu will take water from their hands.

They worship *Mata* or *Devi*, reverence the moon and believe in witches. Their chief objects of worship are spirits and ghosts. To these they offer clay horses, jars and beehive-shaped vessels.

As a rule, marriage seldom takes place before a boy is twenty and a girl fifteen. A man may marry a second or third wife in the life-time of the first. A woman marries again not only when her husband dies, but even when she gets tired of him. Her new husband pays her old husband his marriage expenses. The children, if any, stay with their father.

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The Bhils of Central Gujarat claim descent from sage Valmiki, author of the epic of Ramayan, and insist on being classed as Hindus. There is a great awakening among them now, chiefly by the efforts of Mr. Amritlal Thakkar, who has made the uplift of the tribe his life's sole aim. There are schools, boarding houses and temples of Ram specially built for the community.

Chodhra (Hindus 29,736 ; Tribal 9,050)—A tribe found chiefly in the Rani mahals of the Navsari district. It has several divisions of which only two,—Chokapuri and Valvada were recorded in 1911. Chokapuris were found to be more than double the strength of the latter. Of these, the highest in social rank are the Chokapuris, who are also called Pavagadia. They claim partly to be of Rajput descent and to have lived as carriers in the Rajput kingdoms of North Gujarat and fled south on their overthrow by the Musalmans. This appears very probable, as the Anjana Kanbis of Kheralu are very similar to them in their appearance, manners and customs and may be the descendants of those of them who remained in North Gujarat. The men are stronger and fairer and the women are better looking than those of the other early tribes. The men dress in a turban, coat and waist cloth. The women keep their hair very tidy and wear a coloured cloth over the head, a bodice and a cloth round the waist. The men's ornaments are silver, brass and tin ear and finger rings, and if well-to-do, bands of silver at the elbow and wrist. Women wear round the neck coils of white glass beads and, if well-to-do, a silver necklace, brass brooch on the arm and tin brass anklets. Except the cow, buffalo, horse, donkey, jackal, rat, snake, dog and cat, they eat most animals. Their chief worship is paid to the spirits of their forefathers. They set apart near each village a plot of ground as the *devasthan* or spirit-yard. They honour Rama, but the objects of their special worship are *palio* and *simadio devs* (boundary-gods and village guardians). They pay no special respect to Brahmans and never make use of their services. On the sixth day after a birth, they worship the goddess *chhatthi*, feasting their friends on liquor and *val*. A boy is considered fit to marry after 18, and a girl after 16. A man anxious, to marry his son, goes to the girl's house, and if the father is willing, entertains her parents and relations with liquor. One or two days before marriage, the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with yellow powder. On the marriage day, the bridegroom goes to the girl's house, and after the boy's father has paid the girl's father Rs. 32½ as dowry, and presented the bride with a *salla*, a bodice and a silver necklace worth about Rs. 13, the bride and the bridegroom are seated in the marriage-booth. Their skirts are tied by the women of the house and together they walk four times round the pole of the booth. Dancing, in which the bride and the bridegroom join, and a feast of rice and pulse complete the ceremony. When the bride leaves her father's house, the father, according to his means, gives a few buffaloes or a little money as present. The practice of winning a bride by taking service with her father, *khandhadio* is common among the Chodhras. Their dead are burned. Before lighting the funeral pyre, Chodharas place cooked rice and pulse in the corpse's mouth and consider it lucky, if a crow comes and takes it away. On the fourth day, after a death, a spirit medium (*bahadar havria*), accompanied by the friends of the deceased, takes a stone and groaning and shaking, as if possessed, sets it in the spirit yard. He kills a fowl, letting some of the blood fall on the stone. Next, he adds butter, grain and liquor and making the stone red, consecrates it to the spirit of the deceased. Near the stone, the friends place a small clay cow or she-buffalo for a woman, or a horse for a man. Three times a year on *akhatrij*, *divaso*, and *divali*, Chodhras in a body visit these shrines. They offer fowls, goats and sheep, drink freely and men and women dance together and close the feast. The Chodhras have no headman, and there is an entire want of caste organization in them.

The so-called Tribal section is only a misnomer, as those that returned their castes in lieu of religion in the column for religion were compiled as Tribal. There is no doubt that the Chodhras are the most Hinduised of these early tribes.

Dhanka (3,457)—Literally one who taps the palm tree. It is a general term loosely applied to all members of the forest tribe, and presumably has the same significance as Raniparaj.

Dhodia (Hindu 25,414 ; Tribal 718)—An early tribe found in the Navsari district. Man's ornaments are earrings and armlets of brass, tin or silver. The females put on solid rings of brass over the whole of the leg upto the knee and also on the arm from the wrist to the elbow. These ornaments weigh from 18 to 20 lbs. Dhodias hold a higher social position than the other early tribes, all of which except Chodhras eat food cooked by them. But a Dhodia dines with no one who is not of his own tribe. Among the Dhodias, there are many *kuls*, *i.e.*, families whose status depends upon the villages inhabited by them and the occupations followed by them. They do not allow marriage within the same *kula*. Dhodias of higher families contract early marriages. A bride is purchased by the payment of about Rs. 25 to her father. Men with no means of paying the dowry, offer to serve the girl's father for a term of one to five years. During this time, the suitor receives food and clothing, but his earnings go to his master. If he proves idle or gluttonous, he may at any time be sent off. Even when the three years are over, the girl

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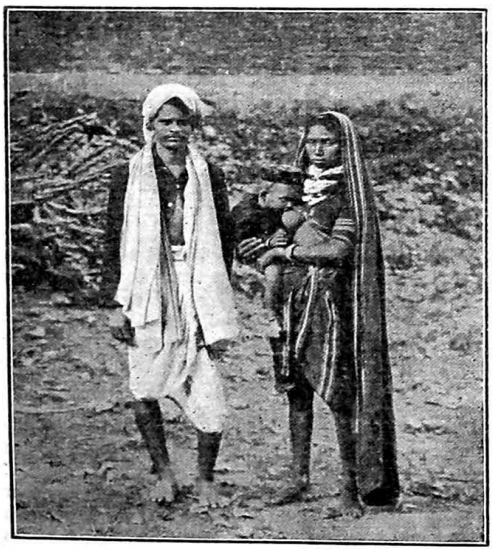
may refuse him, but then he can claim payment for his services. When all goes well, the regular marriage ceremony is performed. But it is not necessary to allow the pair to live as husband and wife. This is called *khandhadia* or bride-purchase system. In certain rare cases, Dhodias purchase a girl for their boy and allow the pair to live as husband and wife without making them go through any ceremony.

They do not use Brahmans as priests. Divorce and remarriage are allowed. A wife has to pay Rs. 5 only to be released from her husband. Corpses are taken in a procession with music playing to the burning ground. On the bier are placed a scythe, a *tansala* (brass bowl) and a *lota* (water jug). A *khatrun* (memorial stone) is erected in honour of the deceased. When the husband dies, the wife throws into the pyre her ornaments of solid rings of brass which she is wearing. When the wife dies, the husband throws one of his chief ornaments in the same way. In most Dhodia villages, one family has the hereditary right of headmanship. The Naik, as he is called, is treated with respect, but most of the social disputes are decided by a mass meeting of the tribe at one of the big funeral feasts. Breaches of caste rules are punished by fine, or if the offence is heinous by turning the culprit out of caste.

Dubla (Hindu 12,811 ; Tribal 83)—Derived from Sanskrit *durbala* (weak) ; an early tribe found in the Navsari district. They have come into closer contact with the civilised castes and do not much differ in appearance from Kolis. They have eight sub-divisions, Bava, Damani, Narda, Palia or Khodia, Sarvia, Talavia, Vasava and Voharia. The members of these clans seldom eat together and never intermarry. They claim a strain of Rajput blood and call themselves Rathod. Females wear the *kanchali*, and do not move about with open breasts like Gamits and other early tribes. They are peasants and labourers. Most of them are *halis* or the hereditary servants of Bhathelas, Kanbis and other better class of cultivators. They are entirely dependent on their masters for food and clothing. They treat Brahmans with respect and make use of their srvices on marriage and other occasions. Boys are married between 10 and 20 and girls between 10 and 18. Widow marriage is allowed, but polygamy is not allowed. The dead are burned. Caste disputes are settled by a few hereditary leaders or *patels*.

Gamatda—Same as Gamit.

Gamit (Hindu 33,210; Tribal 26,003)—Also called Gamtâ or Gamatdâ ; an early tribe found in the Navsari district. They eat sheep, goat, rabbit and fowl, but will not touch the flesh of a cow nor of any animal found dead. They are peasants and wood-cutters. They worship *Vaghdev*, *Samladev* and *Devli Mata*. They never make use of a Brahman's services nor pay him any respect. Men of their own caste act as their priests. Among Gamtas marriage takes place when a boy can climb a palm tree, *i.e.*, generally after he is 12 years of age. *Khandhadia* system prevails. Polygamy and divorce are allowed. Remarriage is also allowed but only between the widowed of both the sexes. A widowed person of either sex is not allowed to take as a partner the unmarried of the opposite sex. The dead are burned. Caste disputes are referred to a few hereditary leaders or *patels*.



Gamit

Gamta—Same as Gamit.

Kathodia (Hindu 333; Tribal 218)—An early tribe found in the Navsari district. It has four sub-divisions ; Helam, Jadu, Pawar and Sindhi. The Kathodias found in the State belong to the last class and are the most degraded. They are black in colour and go about almost naked. They are labourers and catechu makers. They worship the Bhil *Dev*. They pay no respect to Brahmans and never make use of their services. Boys and girls generally marry after they are fifteen years old. *Khandhadiya* system prevails. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed and practised.

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The dead are burned. A funeral feast is given by those who can afford to do so. They raise no tomb-stone and no other ceremonies in honour of the dead. They have a headman and a caste committee.

Kokna (Hindu 6,449; Tribal 1,503)—An early tribe found in the Navsari district. They speak a mixed dialect of Marathi and Gujarati, and from their name seem to have passed into Gujarat from Konkan. They are labourers and cultivators. (Some who from want of bullocks themselves drag the plough are called *hathodia* or hand-ploughmen.) They worship *Brahm* and *Vaghdev*. Brahm, a stone placed near a *samdi* tree, is supplied with a clay horse, a lampstand and a flag. Vagh, a wooden pillar, with a tiger cut on it, is generally covered with *sindur*. Koknas show no respect to Brahmans and never make use of their services as priests. The age of marriage is 16 to 20 for boys and 15 to 18 for girls.

The practice of *khandhadio* prevails. Polygamy is allowed and practised and widows marry again. A woman may leave her husband and go to live with another man on his agreeing to pay her husband the amount he spent as her dowry. The dead are cremated. Koknas have a well-organised caste system. When a man suspects his wife of adultery, he calls a meeting of the tribe. The *panchayat* hears the charge, and, if proved, fines the adulterer. Part of the fine is spent in liquor and the rest is made over to the complainant as compensation.

Kolgha (Hindu 798; Tribal 193)—They are one of the lowest of the early tribes, found in the Navsari district. Though reckoned impure, they neither eat with nor touch a Bhangi. The men's dress is a cap or a scanty turban, a waist cloth and a loin cloth. The women wear two clothes, one thrown over the head and shoulders, the other wound round the waist. Of ornaments they have earrings, two or three solid brass bands on each arm and one or two coils of glass beads round the neck. Anklets are not worn. As a class they are very poor and at times live on roots or fast for two or three days together. They pay no respect to Brahmans and have no priests of their own class. On the sixth day after a birth, the goddess *chhathi* is worshipped. On marriage occasions the boy's father gives girl's father Rs. 3 as dowry. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed and practised. They have no headman. Social disputes are settled by the whole caste.

Kotwalia (Hindu 1,156; Tribal 1,051)—An early tribe found in the Navsari district. They are dark in colour. The males put on a small *dhotar* and a turban only; the females cover their lower limbs with a small piece of cloth, and their head with another like piece. They put on a bodice only when they have to go to a large town. They put on bracelets of brass, anklets of tin, and necklaces of beads. Marriages among them take place by mutual selection and choice. When a boy and a girl have agreed to join in matrimony after their meetings on the roads or in the fields, the parents of the boy visit those of the girl and contract to pay from Rs. 4½ to 10 as her dowry, and fix a day for the marriage. On the day so fixed, the girl and her parents go to the boy's house, and there dance, eat and drink. At this time ornaments are given to the girl by her future husband, excepting anklets, which are given to her by her father. The next morning the girl and the boy are severally placed on the shoulders of two men who dance about, and then their hands are joined. This finishes their marriage. After this, all join in drinking liquor and toddy, and the girl's parents then depart to their house. Marriages with the children of maternal uncle or a paternal aunt are legal with these people, but it is otherwise with the children of a mother's sister and of a brother.

In spite of this marriage by choice, if the husband does not like his wife, he sends her away from his house; and if the contrary is the case, the wife returns the dowry paid to her and leaves him. This is the easy way of divorce with them. Remarriage is also prevalent among them.

The *khandhadio* system obtains among them. The Kotwalias either burn or bury their dead; but before doing so they place a small quantity of *kodri* and a pice in the mouth of the corpse. After disposing of the dead body, they drink and then separate; at the end of a year they place a *khatrun* in the spirit yard and worship it every year.

They have no other ceremonies; but 5 days after the birth of the child, they cowdung the house, drink liquor and toddy, and name the newly-born babe.

Mavchi (Hindu 905; Tribal 14)—A forest tribe found in the Navsari district. Those who came to Baroda as grooms are known as Bavcha. This tribe has its home in the West Pimpalner and Baglan talukas of the Nawapur peta of Khandesh and adjoining parts of the Dangs and Songadh mahal of this State. Almost all Mavchis found in the State are confined to this taluka, a few stray individuals occurring in Amreli and Mehsana *prants*. They are a timid, quiet inoffensive people, rather given to drink and especially the wilder ones, truthful. They constantly change their huts and move their settlement. The commonest form of marriage

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among them is the *khandadio* form, *i.e.* winning of the bride by serving her father for a term of years. Five years is the usual period, but credit is often given and the girl is allowed to live with, and have children by him, before the full term is over. The marriage tie is loose and divorce is easy, even on trivial reasons. Remarriage is allowed to the woman who leaves her husband at will. The caste *panch* usually awards compensation, but cases are not rare when the husband does not think it worth his while to apply to the *panch* and without any further ado, he may take on another wife. Mavchis are ignorant and superstitious, tracing all evil to the influences of witches. They worship *Astamba*, *Gavli Mata*, *Vaghdev* and even *Parameshwar*. They bury the dead and also sometimes, the personal property of the deceased with him. Mainly cultivators, they have taken to cart. They eat variety of animal food, including beef.

Naika or Nayakda (Hindu 11,662 ; Tribal 140)—An early tribe found in the Navsari and Baroda districts. It has four sub-divisions—Cholival, Nicha, Gabad and Kadhad—of which the first two eat together but not with the last two. None of them intermarry. This tribe once held the place of leaders among the Dhodias, who look upon them with respect, and at marriage and other ceremonies treat them as Brahmans. Like Dhodias, they are peasants and cultivators. At betrothal and marriage, men and women dance both singly and in pairs. The dead are cremated. A year after a death, a memorial stone (*khatrun*) is set up. It is rubbed with red lead, a hen is killed and its blood sprinkled on it. After the ceremony is over, the hen is roasted and eaten by the party. Every year at *holi* time, a hen is offered to the memorial stone. Hereditary headmen settle caste disputes.

Naikda

Tadvi (20,817)—One of the early tribes found in the Baroda district. The Tadvis were treated in 1901 as an unclassifiable unit of the forest tribes. But the Tadvis as the name implies are a sub-caste formed by fission (*tad*) from the great Bhil tribe. Exactly how the fission arose, the details are not so far available. Mr. Enthoven regards them as descendants of Bhil women and Musalman men and traces their origin to Aurangzeb. But there is no reason to treat them on that account as Musalmans. Possibly Mr. Enthoven was not referring to the Gujarat Tadvis who have no connection with the tribe of the same name found at the foot of the Satpuda Hills in Khandesh. Very special enquiries about their religious belief were made in Sankheda and Tilakwada where they bulk the largest, and there is no doubt that they are Hindus. They all worship Hindu deities including Shankar (Mahadev). In Sankeheda they have a special reverence for Sri Krishna Bhagwan, paying court also to the Sun, and to all Matas. They do not circumcise or keep beards nor do they venerate any Muslim Pirs. They call in Brahmans of the Nandora section for their marriages and Kayatia Brahmans for their funerals. To mark the beginning of marriage ceremonies, they make a drawing of Ganpati with *geru* (ochre)—they propitiate the planets and tie the *choli* bands. They sing marriage songs in Gujarati which is their home-language They allow widow remarriage and divorce ; through a caste *panch*, social disputes are settled and divorces are decreed. No money to the bridegroom has to be paid, but the *panch* requires a fee of Rs. 12 out of which Rs. 5 are paid to the officiating Brahman. The *natra* ceremony is less formal, not always requiring the presence of a Brahman. All that is required is that the couple throw rice at each other in the presence of the caste *patel*. Hindu festivals are generally observed including the *sitala satam* (to propitiate the small-pox goddess), and the *janmastami* day (Sri Krishna's birth-day) when fast is observed. There is caste organisation in settled villages, where there is a *nyat patel*, chosen from among the fittest families, but there is no such thing as *kul*. They have *vahivanchas* amongst the well-to-do families—some Barot from *Kheralu* visiting once in three years. They burn or bury their dead, according as their circumstances permit. If cremation is followed, then a Brahman is called in, who offers *pindas* and is paid Rs. 25 to 30. Where burial is practised, there the ritual is less expensive and formal. Dead bodies are buried usually on the banks of the Narmada ; and *kasumbo* (opium juice diluted

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with water) is drunk copiously. While burying, the head of the corpse is placed towards the north: if the corpse is that of a male, it is swathed in white, if of a female, it is wrapped in *lal shelu* (red covering cloth).

Talavia (Hindu 52,407; Tribal 158)—Originally a sub-caste of Dublas now grown into an independent caste with them. They are chiefly found in the Navsari and Baroda districts. They are all Gujarati speaking and more or less Hinduised. The tribals returned as such in this census are properly speaking Hindus. Talavias consider themselves hypergamous to other Dublas, and seldom eat with them or intermarry with them, although they acknowledge their connection. They look down upon Bhils very definitely and have no social dealings with them. They marry amongst themselves. The prospective son-in-law has to pay Rs. 25 to the bride's father for marriage expenses. Rs. 1-4-0 worth of cloth and 12 annas worth of *choli* are his *gifts* to his bride. No other ornaments are needed. In other respects their marriage costs them little, as the Brahman lets them off lightly charging them from 8 to 12 annas. They are worshippers of *verai* (*vihat*) *mata*, the goddess also of the Rajputs, Vaghris and other communities. Brahmans are required for doing *puja* and applying *Sindur* (red paint) on to the stone image of the Mata. They have a vague notion of god and of Rama and other Hindu objects of veneration. But they worship the Sun every morning. Their women fast on full moon days and worship the moon. In the *navaratra* days (sacred to the *mata*) they sow paddy seeds and other corn and do fast. They bury their dead as they are too poor to burn. The corpse is buried in a lying position (an hour after death) with the head pointing to the north. No further ritual is observed, only the women wail. Their *gor* is an Audich Sahasara Brahman (in Karjan) who is looked down upon for ministering to these people. They have a *vahivancha*, by name Amarsing, who lives in Padra taluka.

Valari—Same as Varli.

Valvi (Hindu 101; Tribal 31)—A forest tribe found in the Baroda and Navsari districts. Considered degraded, they are probably an untouchable section of the Gamit tribe found in Songadh and Vyara talukas. Valvi is not to be confused with the Valvi section of Chodhras.

Varli (Hindu 187; Tribal 181)—An early tribe found in the Navsari district. They seem to have come from North Konkan were they are found in large numbers. The name is said to be derived from *varal*, a patch of cultivated ground. The men shave the head and do not wear the beard. The women wear the hair oiled and plaited. They do not eat the flesh of a cow or of a dead animal. They are fond of smoking and drinking. They cultivate land and also rear fowls. On the sixth day after a birth, the goddess *chhathi* is worshipped. Children are married at any time after they are twelve years old. The practice of serving for a wife, *khandhadio*, prevails. Widow marriage is allowed but polygamy is not practised. The dead are burned. Brahmans do not officiate on any ceremonial occasions. A headman who holds office during the pleasure of the community decides all caste questions.

Vasawa (Hindu 13,290; Tribal 4,237)—An early tribe, also called Vasavda, found in the Baroda and Navsari districts. Their males put on *dhotees* or *payjama*, a jacket and a turban. But one of their peculiarities is worth noting. Whenever a new garment is brought for the wife the husband tears off a piece from it sufficient to cover its nakedness. This piece is kept hanging from the thread on his waist at day-time and is made to cover up his loins at night. The females wrap a piece of cloth round about their lower limbs and put another on the head. They begin to put on a bodice only when they go to their husbands. They wear necklaces of white stones and two anklets of brass on each leg. When a boy has attained puberty, his parents and relations go out in search of a wife for him and take him along with them. If the boy likes the girl shown to him by his parents, they send for toddy from the market and drink it with the girl's parents. The boy's father agrees to pay from Rs. 22 to 30, and settles a day for the marriage and returns home. A day previous to that fixed for the performance of the ceremony, the boy and his parents reside and put up for the night outside the village and dance there the whole night. Next morning they go to the bride's house, where a bamboo is held lengthwise between the bride's and bridegroom's parties and dancing commences. After a time when a bottle of wine and two pice are given to the girl's party by that of the the boy, the bamboo is removed and both parties dance together. Then, a new garment in one of the corners of which are tied a rupee and 4 pice is given to the bride by the bridegroom. Both are then anointed with oil and turmeric powder and are placed on the shoulders of two men,—the boy with a sword and the girl with its sheath. Both of these men dance away with the human burden on their shoulders for a time and then put them down. After that, they sit down to dinner, which when over, the boy and party return home with the new bride. When nine days have passed after this auspicious event, the leading men of the village of the bride's parents go to her husband's house and dance in front of it without speaking, until a bottle of

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wine and a rupee are given to them by the boy's father. Then they speak with him, dine at his house and return with the girl to their village. The system of *khandhadio*, as well as re-marriage and divorce, obtains among these people.

No sooner a Vasawa dies, a match-lock is fired. The dead body is then placed on a bedstead and carried in procession with music playing and match-locks firing to the burning ground. Then the pyre is erected, around which the dead body with the bedstead is taken seven times and is afterwards placed on the pyre. Food is placed in the mouth of the dead body and his usual implements and weapons are placed by his side. The body is then burned and the mourners bathe and go home. In the evening they again assemble, drink and eat together. This being over, a relative of the deceased gets up and pierces an adjacent tree with an arrow to mark the completion of the funeral ceremonies.

They do not perform menstruation and pregnancy ceremonies at all, but give a small feast on the fifth day after the birth of a child and then give a name to it.

In the classification of early tribes, it is difficult to fit the Vasawas into the scheme. According to their own claim, they are the settled branch of the Bhils, as they have settled in permanent hamlets in the State. Mr. Enthoven considers them as a section of the Khandeshi pure Bhils. But the term Vasawa occurs as a well recognized sept of the Dublas (Group V).

RABARI (with Bharwad 64,378)—Herdsmen. They claim to be Rajputs, who instead of marrying Rajput women, married celestial damsels (*apsaras*) that is, perhaps, Charan women or daughters of god (*devputris*) as they style themselves and were therefore called Rahâ-bahâri, that is going out of path. Their original home is said to be the United Provinces from which they moved to Marwar, and from thence to Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch. Some of their surnames are the same as Rajput tribe names, *e.g.*, Chohan, Dodiya, Gohel, Jadav, etc. Except in Kathiawad, Rabaris have no sub-castes. In Kathiawad, there are six sub-divisions which interdine but do not intermarry. They take flesh and drink spirits and in Kathiawad eat with Musalmans. They are quarrelsome people and by breaking fences, and grazing their cattle on crops cause great loss and annoyance to cultivators. In religion they belong to Bijmargi, Ramanandi, and Pirânâ sects. Their priests are Audich and Sompura Brahmans. Among them all marriages take place on the same day. The Rabaris of one or more villages who wish to have their daughters married meet in a temple. A Brahman is called and he fixes the marriage day. Marriage among near relations is avoided. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed. The younger brother of the deceased husband has the first claim upon his widow. The dead are buried. *Shradhas* are performed, and caste people are feasted on the eleventh and twelfth day after a death. Rabaris have a headman but he has little authority and caste disputes are settled at meetings of the men of the caste.

RAJPUT (Hindu 94,805; Arya 88)—A Kshatriya caste found in all the parts of the State, but principally in the Kadi *prant*, as Anhilwad Patan in that district was, for many centuries, the capital of the Rajput kings of Gujarat. The chief social peculiarity of the Rajputs is their division into clans. The following is a list of the 103 Rajput clan names in use in Gujarat :—

Ada, Avera, Balater, Barod, Bhati, Bihola, Solanki, Biya, Bodav, Chamarpa, Chandavrat, Chavada, Chavad, Chochu, Chiod, Chohan, Chudavat, Dabhi, Dagh, Daima, Dairja, Devchand, Devda, Dhandhu, Dod, Dodiya, Duval, Ed, Galecha, Ghelot, Gohel, Golter, Gor, Gujjar, Hadial, Harashi, Hatha, Humad, Jadav, Jadeja, Jhala, Jiriya, Jodha Rathod, Joja, Jut, Kaba, Kachhotia, Kalam, Karadia, Kher, Khod, Khula, Kukan, Lakam, Mahida, Makvana, Mal, Masani, Mer, Mohal, Mori, Narvan, Padhra, Padhiar, Palonia, Parmar, Pesrau, Puravia Chohan, Rana, Ranrathod, Rathod, Raval, Ravar-Solanki, Rehevar, Revod, Sedhal, Sisodia, Sodha, Sodria or Sadria, Sojatria, Solanki, Songad, Surcha, Suvar, Tank, Tantol, Thokiya, Tuar, Vadhel, Vadvasia, Vaghela Vaish, Vaja, Vala, Vamla, Vanol, Vantia, Varam, Vejola, Vethia, Vezania, Virpura Solanki, Udvat and Uma.

All clans eat together and intermarry, but the members of a clan are forbidden to marry within the clan, as they are believed to be the children of one common ancestor. The Dagh, Karadia and Padhra clans allow widow remarriage and let their women appear in public. They are therefore looked upon as degraded. The Daghs are found in Cutch, Karadias are scattered all over Gujarat and Kathiawad ; and Padhras are found only in the Surat and Navsari districts. Of the other clans only Chavada, Chohan, Daima, Gohel, Gori, Jadeja, Jhala, Parmar, Rathod, Rehevar, Sarvaiya, Sisodia, Solanki and Vaghelas have retained their importance. The rest have sunk into insignificance.

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Rajputs are by birth soldiers and landholders. Some of them are even now chiefs, *Girasias* or landholders and holders of service lands. But their service as soldiers is not in demand; and by their indolence, habits of extravagant expenditure and opium taking, most of the landholders have lost their patrimony and dwindled into peasant proprietors. A great many of them are forced to take service as peons and constables and even as personal attendants and field labourers.

Except among their lower classes, Rajputs have no headman. Caste disputes are usually settled by a jury of four or five respectable persons of the clan who have the power to fine or expel from the caste.

RAVALIA (27,614)—Also called Jogi. They appear to be of Rajput origin and are sub-divided into Sakhia (clansmen) and Vahalia (carriers). Sakhias are divided into Joshi Raval, Maru Raval and Patai Raval. Both Sakhias and Vahalias eat together and intermarry. Surat Ravals are divided into Khambhati, Rajbhari and Surati; and Ahmedabad Ravals into Baria, Bhalia, Bhoinia Makvana and Udlia. The five Ahmedabad subdivisions eat together, but do not intermarry. Ravals eat fish, mutton and fowl and drink liquor. They keep sheep and asses and work as carriers and labourers; some weave bed tapes and a few cultivate lands. They also beg and it is considered pious to give cooked food to a Raval especially when there has been some death in the family. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed; younger brother has the choice of marrying his elder brother's widow. They have caste councils and headmen in large villages.

SADHU—See under Ascetics—Hindu and Jain.

SAIYAD (9,590)—One of the four classes into which the Musalmans with a foreign strain are divided. They claim descent from Fatima and Ali, the daughter and son-in-law of the Prophet and are the descendants of those who came during the period of Musalman rule in Gujarat, as religious teachers, soldiers and adventurers. They mark their high birth by placing the title *Saiyad* or *Mir* before, or *Shah* after male names and *Begam* after female names. They marry their daughters only among themselves, but take wives from other Musalmans. Some of them are *pirs* or spiritual guides and the rest follow all callings. The head is often shaved but when allowed to grow the hair has a natural curl. As a class Saiyads are fond of learning. "Daulat mile to Mir, nahin to fakir, maren to Pir": "if we get money we are lords, without it, we are beggars; and when we die we are saints." As spiritual guides and religious teachers, they are well-to-do and some of them rich. In religion, they are both Sunnis and Shiahs. In South and Central Gujarat, they are mostly Sunnis. In North Gujarat, though all profess the Sunni rite, most are Shiahs at heart. The Shiah fraternity form a distinct group, their chief bond of union being their secret celebration of Shiah rituals. Saiyads, though they take daughters from all *pucca* Muslims are chary of doing so from the Nau-muslims.

SATHWARA (6,550)—A caste peculiar to the Mehsana and Amreli districts where its members follow agricultural operations in villages but are bricklayers in towns. Women of the caste sell vegetables. Their surnames Chavda, Dhobi, etc., point to a Rajput origin. They have no recognized divisions, though Ahmedabadi Sathwaras do not marry with the Kathiawadi section. Marriages are forbidden between descendants of collateral males within seven degrees, but *natra* (widow remarriage) and *diyarvatu* (marriage with the deceased husband's younger brother) are allowed: so is divorce. Both husband and wife can seek divorce. In religion Sathwaras are Shaivas and Vallabhacharis. A few are Ramanandis and Bijmargis. Kathiawadi Sathwaras are meat-eaters, but do not eat birds; they eat fish only in the evening. The Kathiawadi Sathwara grows rich garden crops.

SHAIKH (26,073)—Properly speaking one of the four classes into which the Musalmans with a foreign strain are divided. But the term "Shaikh" which means *elder* is applied to descendants of local converts as well as of foreigners. The men have the title *Shaikh* or *Mahomed* placed before their names and women *Bibi* after theirs. They follow all callings and are found in every grade of life.

Shaikh or Shaikhada (Hindu 231)—They are found chiefly in the Baroda district. Originally Hindus, they are converts to Islam worshipping the shrine of Bala Mahomed Shah, one of the minor Pirana saints. In their ways, they are similar to the Matia Kanbis. They bury their dead, but otherwise follow Hindu customs. They are not circumcised and do not eat with Musalmans. They make *tila* and many of them have lately been following the tenets of the Swaminarayan sect, and have returned themselves as Hindus in the present census. At the time of marriage, both a Hindu and a Mahomedan priest attends. *Nika* is performed by a Fakir and afterwards the Hindu rite of *chori* is performed by a Brahman. They form a distinct community and marry only among themselves.

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SHENVA—See under Depressed Classes.

SHRIMALI—See under Brahman and Vania respectively.

SINDHI (4,602)—Musalman immigrants from Sindh. They are chiefly found in Baroda, Amreli and Mehsana districts.

SONI (Hindu 12,145; Arya 32)—Gold and silver smiths. They are found in towns and large villages. They are of eight main divisions :—Gujjar, Maru, Mewada, Parajia, Shrimali, Tragad, Kathiawadi and Khandeshi. The Shrimali section forms half of the total strength. The Tragad or Mastan community has two divisions, called *nanu* (small) and *motu* (large) and claims descent from a Vania father and a Brahman mother. In token of their partly Brahman origin, they wear the Brahmanic thread and do not eat food cooked by any one, other than a Brahman. The Parajias called after the village of Paraj near Junaghad, claim to be Rajputs. They are of two branches, Garana and Patni. Gango, the founder of the Garana branch, established himself at Girnar and his descendants are found in Halar and Sorath. Nando, the founder of the Patni branch, went to Patan during the reign of Sidhraj Jayasing (A. D. 1094-1143) and established himself there. The Patnis and Garanas eat together but do not intermarry. The four other subdivisions, Gujjar, Maru, Mewada and Shrimali claim to have once been Vanias. The Shrimali Sonis, who originally belonged to the Shrimali Vania community, are divided into Ahmedabadi and Charotaria. They eat together. The Ahmedabadis take Charotaria wives, but never give their daughters to a Charotaria in marriage. Mewada Sonis originally belonged to Mewada Vania community ; the Maru or Marwari Sonis have come into Gujarat from Marwar; and the Gujjar belong to the Gujjar Vania stock and are a trace of the great settlement of Gujjars who gave its name to Gujarat.

Arranged according to their work, *Sonis* are goldsmiths or workers of gold ornaments, *Jadias* or tracers of designs on ornaments and *Panchigars* or diamond and precious stone setters.

Like Vanias Sonis live on grain and smoke tobacco. They have a bad name for filching gold and for mixing metal. The saying is :—" A Soni takes gold even out of his sister's ornaments." Socially Sonis hold a high position, ranking next to Vanias. Some of them are Shaiva, some Vallabhachari, and some Swaminarayan. Their family priests are Audich, Saraswat and Shrimali Brahmans. The Maru, Parajia and Chorataria Shrimali Sonis practise polygamy and allow widow remarriage. Among Charotaria Shrimalis alone, the wife is free to divorce her husband. Each community has its headman or *patel* who, in consultation with four or five leading men, settles caste disputes at a meeting of all the men of the caste.

SUTAR (Hindu 24,275; Arya 15)—Carpenters from the Sanskrit word *sutradhar* (*sutra*, *i.e.*, the thread with which the course of the saw is marked). They are pretty evenly distributed over the whole State. They belong to six divisions, Pithva, Gujjar, Mewada, Pancholi, Marwadi and Vaishya. Of these, the Pancholis and the Vaishyas are found only in Gujarat proper, the Gujjars and Marwadis in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch and the Pithvas in Kadi. The Gujjar, Mewada, Pancholi and Vaishya claim to be the descendants of Vishvakarma, the divine world builder. Both Marwadis and Pithvas claim to be the Rajputs who took to carpentry when Parshuram resolved to destroy the Kshatriyas. The Gujjar section forms over 40 per cent in the State. The Vaishya and Pancholi rank next in order of strength. Except that the other five divisions eat food cooked by Vaishyas, none of the six divisions eat together or intermarry. The Vaishyas rank highest, because they do not eat food cooked by the other divisions, wear the sacred thread and do not allow their widows to marry. The Pancholis rank lowest, because they alone prepare oil-presses and do other woodwork which causes the loss of animal life. Besides the regular carpenters, some Darjis, Kolis, Kumbhars and Tapodhans have taken to carpentry.

In look and dress, Sutars do not differ from Vanias. All the six divisions of Sutars are thrifty and sober. In religion they are Parnamipanthi, Ramanandi, Shaiva, Swaminarayan and Vallabhachari. Of the six divisions of Sutars, the Vaishya and Mewada in North Gujarat wear the Brahmanic thread. The Sutars' marriage customs do not differ from those of Vanias and Kanbis. Among the Vaishya and Mewada, widow remarriage, polygamy and divorce are not allowed ; among the rest widows are allowed to marry, divorce is granted and polygamy practised. Caste disputes among the several divisions are settled either by a headman or a few leading men at the meeting of all the men of the caste. No fee is levied from an outsider who takes to carpentry. Carpenters who do not observe as a close day the dark fifteenth of every Hindu month, or the day on which a death has taken place in the caste in a town or village, are fined ; and those who work as shoemakers are excommunicated.

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A very small section of Sutars has become Musalman—numbering only about 40 families.

TADVI—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

TAI (4,160)—Weavers found chiefly in Dabhoi taluka of the Baroda district and also in the Navsari district. They claim descent from Hatim Tai, but appear to be a mixed class of foreigners and converted Hindus. Some of them speak Hindustani and others, Gujarati. They wear cotton robes and turbans. Like Hindus, they give caste dinners on pregnancy, marriage and death occasions. They marry only among themselves and form a separate *jamat* with a headman of their own.

TALABDA (Hindu 59,525; Arya 41)—A caste intermediate between Kanbis and Kolis and disdaining to call themselves by the latter name: they are also called Dharala or swordsmen. The name is derived from *sthalpada*, meaning local. According to themselves, the name is a corruption of talpati—landlord, and consider themselves superior to other Kolis and do not dine with them. They claim descent from a Parmar Rajput of Dharanagri in Malwa, who married the daughter of a Bhil chief in Gujarat to secure his help and support. The caste is localised mostly in Central and South Gujarat, isolated groups being found in Kathiawad and other places. The Central Gujarat group has two sections, the Mahikantha and Charotaria. The Dharalas of Charotar are subdivided into Vaghela, Pagi and Kotwal sections. Another section known as Baria is often confused with Barias proper (*q. v.*). The Dharala Talabda is a poor mean looking specimen. But in North Gujarat, the Talabda Patelia is a fine class. In South Gujarat, Talabdas are the main group. They are there thrifty and prosperous and make excellent agriculturists. It is curious that where they are financially the most affluent, they have little objection to the Koli name. Marriage between Rajputs and Talabdas is not uncommon, but the latter usually marry amongst themselves, observing the Rajput rule against marriages between members of the same subdivision. They have 22 surnames of which Chudasma, Jadav and Sarvarga are the highest socially. Talabdas have borne a good reputation for peaceful pursuits. Most are good agriculturists and efficient labourers. The Kotwals and Pagis serve as guards and village trackers. The caste has taken to education, and English literates including matriculates and at least one graduate are not unknown.

TALAVIA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

TARGALA (Hindu 4,902; Jain 340)—Also called Bhavaiya, that is performers of *bhavai* or comedy. They are found mostly in the Mehsana *prant*. The word *bhavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *bhav* which is a name of the god Shiva and is so called from that deity being personated in acting. Bhavaiyas are said to be the descendants of one Asit, an Audich Brahman of Unjha in the Mehsana district. Asit was excommunicated by other Audich Brahmans for dining with a Kanbi girl. He was a good songster and supported himself by singing and dancing. His descendants followed his profession and formed a new caste. The Targalas have two divisions, the Vyas and the Bhavaiyas who neither eat together nor intermarry. Both consider that they have the right to wear the Brahmanic thread, but are not very careful about wearing it. The Vyas do not eat with other castes lower than Kanbis, while some Bhavaiyas eat with Kolis. The latter are called Bhil Bhavaiyas with whom other Bhavaiyas neither eat nor intermarry. They travel during the fair season in companies of 15 to 30 and return to their homes and cultivate their fields during the rains. Each company or *toli* has its *naik*. They have no theatres and perform in open places in the outskirts of towns and villages. The high class performers nowadays take service as actors in dramatic companies in Bombay and other places. Their marriage and death ceremonies do not differ from those of Kanbis. Marriages are not allowed among the descendants of collateral males on the farther's side, but they are allowed among the descendants on the mother's side, when they are from three to seven degrees removed. Widow remarriage is allowed, but the widow of a man does not marry his younger brother. Divorce is granted on the ground of disagreement, the offending party having to pay a fine of Rs. 12. They have a headman in Ahmedabad who exercises little control. Social disputes are settled by a majority of the caste people. Targalas are Shaiva and keep in their houses, images of *Umia Mata* and *Mahadev*. No band starts on its cold weather acting tour without first performing before the Bahucharaji Mata.

THAKARDA—See under Koli.

THORI—See under Depressed Classes.

TURI—See under Depressed Classes.

UMAD—See under Vania.

VAGHER (5,175)—They are partly Hindus and partly Musalmans and are found in Okhamandal of which they claim to be the earliest inhabitants. The name Vagher is partly derived from *vai*, without, and *ger*, smell, meaning a tiger devoid of the sense of smell. In time the term

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was applied to the *kala* tribe who were as criminal and sanguinary as tigers. Another legend is that Vaghers were so called because they cooled the gods on a visit to hot Okhamandal by *gher* (enclosing) of *va*, or wind and this refreshed them.

Vaghers are a fine looking race, strong, sturdy and enterprising. Like Rajputs, Rabaris and Charans, they part the beard in the middle curling the ends behind the ears. Their women are well-built and hard-working. The mother-tongue of the Vaghers is a corrupt form of the Kachchhi dialect. By nature they are restless, turbulent, impatient of control and have predatory leanings. They rose four times between 1816 and 1873 against the constituted authority. By occupation, they were first fishermen, then pirates and freebooters and are now landholders, fishermen and sailors. By religion, Musalman converts are Sunni. Those who are Hindus hold *Dwarkadhish* in great veneration. All Vaghers come to Dwarka on the *bhim agiaras* day (11th of the bright half of *Jeth*), bathe in the Gomti and worship *Ranchhodji*. Hindu Vaghers do not eat food cooked by Musalmans, but give their daughters in marriage to those Musalmans who can pay for them.

VAGHRI (35,805)—A caste deriving its name from Sanskrit, *wagurik* or *vagura* drawer and means tribe of netters. In appearance and occupation, they seem associated with fowlers and birdcatchers known as Pardhis. Vagharis are superior to Dheds but inferior to Kolis. According to their own account they are Chohan Rajputs. Their surnames, however, do not favour a separate tribal origin. Chavan, Charan, and Koli suggest a mixed people, descendants of men of higher classes who either in time of famine or from a passion for a girl of the tribe or from some breach of caste rule, sank to be Vaghris.

Vaghris are divided into four main sub-castes Chunaras or lime-burners, who are also cultivators and fowlers ; Datanias who sell *datan* or tooth brushes, Vedu who grow and sell *aria*, a species of gourd, and live in towns, and Patani who trade in wood and bamboos and sell chickens. The names of the other subdivisions are Talabda, Champta, Kankodia, Marwadi, Saraniya (27), etc. The Talbadas neither eat nor drink with the other divisions. The other divisions are of a lower grade and eat and drink together but do not intermarry. In order of strength the Datanias are the most numerous, forming about one-third ; then come Talabdas forming one-sixth ; followed by Chunaras and Patani.

Except the owl and the jackal, they eat all animals including the pig. Their favourite food is the flesh of the iguana or *gho* and *sandha* (a reptile of the lizard species). They generally keep goats and fowls, sell eggs, catch birds, and go as *shikaris*. They need no Brahmans for betrothal, marriage or death ceremonies. They believe in spirits and lucky and unlucky days. They worship goddesses, the chief among whom are *Bahucharaji, Kalka, Khodiar, Meldi, Hadkai* and *Vihat*. Children are married when 10 or 15 years old. They burn or bury their dead. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed. They have their headman or *patels*, but all caste disputes are decided by the council of the caste.

Vaghris pride themselves on the chastity of their women. When a family returns home from a tour abroad, the women are taken to *vihat*, and a buffalo or sheep is also brought along with her. The woman then has to confess all her sins ; even the most trivial, as " One day, a miya ogled me, and forgive me, *Mata*, if my looks encouraged him." If the Devi is satisfied, then the animal shivers and is forthwith decapitated. If otherwise, then her wrath falls upon some member of the family, who sickens and dies. The priests of the Vaghris in these and other rituals are *bhuvas*, who are simply spirit-possessed Vaghris into whose bodies the *vihat mata* enters. These *bhuvas* are slayers of evil spirits.

VALAND (Hindu 28,016; Arya 19)—Barbers. They are found in every town and village in Gujarat. The word Hajam is derived from Arabic *hajam*, to cup, and refers to his doing cupping operations in olden times. This word can be applied more appropriately to muslim barbers and when applied to a Hindu, it is resented. " Valand " is the appropriate word—for this caste so named. The caste is also variously known as *Gainjo* from the barber's old operation of dressing wounds or *gha; rat* from practice of carrying a torch at night time; and *matka* from an earthen pot on which barber boys are taught to shave. There are seven main divisions of Valands :—Limachia, Bhatia, Maru, Masuria, Pardeshi, and Dakshani. Of these divisions, the Limachia (or more properly Nimachia from Neemuch) rank the highest. They allow Bhatia Valands to smoke out of their pipes, but do not eat with any other division. None of the divisions intermarry or interdine, but all except the Pardeshi and Dakshani eat food cooked by a Limachia Valand. The Limachias claim descent from a band of Rajputs, who after some defeat fled for protection to their goddess Limachia in Patan. From Patan they went to Champaner and from Champaner they spread over Gujarat. Among the Limachia surnames are Bbati, Chavda, Chohan, Dabhi, Gohel, Parmar, Rathod, etc. Except the Masurias of South Gujarat, who eat goat's flesh and drink liquor, and also work as *dholis*, or drum-beaters on

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marriage occasions, Valands live on ordinary food-grains. Their ordinary profession is shaving, but in villages they also cultivate land. Their women act as midwives in villages and some of them have received professional training in cities and towns. High caste Hindus do not allow Valands to touch drinking pots. Among Kanbis and low caste Hindus, a barber touches the drinking pots and cleanses the cooking pots and vessels. Valands' priests are Audich, Rayakval, Borsada and Shrigaud Brahmans, who by way of slight are called " Hajamgors". By religion, Valands are Bijpanthi, Kabirpanthi, Ramanandi and Vallabhachari. Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. The widow of a man sometimes marries his younger brother. Hajams are proverbially talkative, boastful and pretentious. In villages where the Patidar element is strong, the Valand has to put in a great deal of forced labour, in respect of which he has a legitimate grievance.

The Deccani barbers of the Hindu persuasion are called *Nhavis*, while the corresponding caste in North India is known as *Nai*. A section of these, presumably under Arya Samaj influence have started calling themselves Nai Brahmans, implying a claim to Brahmanhood, on which Gujarat Valands have not yet insisted.

During the decade, this caste in various parts of Gujarat have taken kindly to vernacular education, and improved their caste organisation by running a caste journal, agitating against the encroachment of Patidars, etc., and the forced labour from subordinate village officials. But on the whole, the Valand caste is docile and noted for its fidelity in domestic service. The agitation set up by the Nai Brahmans has *totally* caused something like fission on the caste uplift movement.

VALVI—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

VALRI—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

VANIA (Hindu 41,486 ; Jain 44,939 ; Arya 52)—The Vanias occurring in the State are almost all Gujarati Vanias, claiming to be Vaishays, the third of the fourfold classification of the Manavan system. But most of them do not perform the thread ceremony, which is compulsory in respect of the first three divisions. Possibly the caste in its present form (like the Patidar with the agricultural communities) evolved from members of many castes engaged in trade, who later when they rose in social position on account of their wealth claimed the Vaishya name, as a national designation for the commercial community as a whole. This tendency was welded through the centuries by the growth of the *mahajan* system of trade-guilds which definitely strengthened their corporate character, although in their marriages and other social exchanges the different Vania castes lived on a basis of co-existent exclusiveness.

Sub-castes of Vanias—Gujarat Vanias have forty sub-castes, of which the following are met with in this State :—

1. Agarwal*	6. Kapol*	10. Mewada*	14. Nima*	18. Shrimali*
2. Baj	7. Kanpuri	11. Modh*	15. Oswal*	19. Sorathia*
3. Disawal*	8. Khadayata*	12. Nagar	16. Porwad*	20. Umad*
4. Gujar	9. Lad*	13. Nandora	17. Rayakwal	21. Vayad
5. Jharola				

Those marked with an asterisk have a Jain section. Dishaval, Kapol, Khadayata, Lad, and Modh have indeed small Jain sections but they are predominantly Hindu. Shrimali, the largest Vania caste is predominantly Jain. So is Porwad. Mewada, Oswal and Umad are exclusively so. Most of the sub-castes (except Kapol) have two divisions each a Visa and a Dasa section. A few have a Pancha section, *e.g.*, Baj, Dishaval, Jharola and Nagar. These terms signify numerals, " twenties," " tens" and fives". The last named are considered degraded with whom other Vanias will not dine. Occasionally a Pancha group, *e.g.*, that of the Baj, develops class consciousness and refuses to dine with Patidars and forms a section of its own. " Twenties " or " tens" are said to represent gradations in the purity of lineage, although different traditions ascribe a variety of origins for these divisions. Thus about the origin of Dasas and Visas amongst Shrimalis, three stories are current : One says that those who settled in Gujarat after wandering in the four quarters of heaven or *disha* were called Dasas, and that those who had settled in the four corners or *vidish* were called *Vidishas* or *Visas*. A second account says that those who sprang from the right side of Mahalakshmi's garland were called Visas, and those from the left Dasas. The third tradition, which is the most sensible, the Visas, twenties were so called because they were twice as high as Dasas or tens. These divisions have become through time harder than even the difference of religion between the Meshri (Vaishnava) and Jain sections. For there could have been marriage between a Jain and Hindu belonging to the Visa Shrimali section, but a Visa Hindu cannot marry a Dasa Hindu bride from the same caste. The recent revival of sectarianism however has prevented the spread of intermarriages

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between Jain and Hindu sections. The process of fission has further developed through the multiplication of marriage groups (*ekdas*) or circles of villages or towns within which all girls are reserved as brides for the eligible males of the caste. Originally these *ekdas* (or *gols*) were established as a protest (as with the Patidars) against the hypergamy of the *kulin* (or town-bred and affluent) families. The latter naturally did not care to give their daughters used to the standards of town-life to rude homes in the countryside, although they were willing to take brides from villages. Those with a rural domicile were at first attracted by the comforts of a city-life, but they soon found that brides were rare for the rural husbands, and the revolt led to the rapid development of *gols* which are now general throughout Gujarat. These groups are by no means rigid, villages drop out or are added, and departures from the strict rule of marriage within the circle are sometimes permitted by the *gol* panchayat on payment of a prescribed fee or fine.

Social Solidarity of Vanias—All the Vania sub-castes resemble each other strongly in most respects of social ceremonial or religious belief. They differ little in colour and dress varies according to locality. These resemblances have tended to produce a considerable amount of class consciousness which is seen in the efficiency of their *mahajan* organisation. In all the chief centres of trade or distribution of agricultural produce, the chief Vania capitalists under the name of *mahajan* (great men) form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain occasions spending the proceeds on humane and religious objects. The head of this guild is the *nagarsheth* or city-merchant (Shreshti—chief citizen) formerly a person of great importance, now with much diminished head, on account of the sweeping social changes brought about by democratic franchises and municipal institutions. The *mahajan* within recent years has taken on new phases, by taking on its body representatives from other commercial communities not necessarily Hindu (Vohras and Parsis have been sometimes requisitioned) and also from the crafts (such as Sonis, etc.). But it has carefully excluded the Brahman and the Kshatriya. For the settlement of social disputes each subdivision of Vanias has in each town one or more leading families. The representative of this family under the name of *patel* or *sheth* chooses some four or five members of the community and with their help decides the question in dispute. Compared with high-caste Hindus, Vanias treat their headmen with respect and are careful not to break their caste rules.

Religion—Vaishnava Vanias are staunch followers of the Vallabhachari sect, to which they were converted four centuries ago. To the Maharaj or religious head of the sect, they are wont to pay extreme reverence, which is now however on the wane owing to modern influences. Instead of the sacred thread, men and women both wear a basil bead necklace or *kanthi*. Agarwals and Shaiva Nagar Vanias wear the sacred thread. The Jain Vanias in Gujarat belong principally to two sections—Digambari and Swetambari.

Deshaval or Disaval (Hindu 7,137 ; Jain 78)—A Vania caste found mainly in the Mehsana and Baroda districts. Disavals are found in large numbers in Kalol, Kadi, Patan and Sidhpur talukas. They take their name from Deesa or Juna Disa, an ancient town near the military station of the same name. They are divided into Visa, Dasa and Pancha. Dasas are further subdivided into Ahmedabadi, Surati and Ghoghari. Both Visa and Dasa eat together but do not intermarry. The Panchas form a separate community. Bride and Bridegroom go round the *chori* eight times among the Deshavals instead of seven times as in other Vania castes. Their family priests are Deshaval Brahmans and they are followers of the Vallabhachari sect. *Sidhmata* is their family goddess, and certain rituals have to be done in her presence. The Deshavals of the Dasa section have a circle regulated by rules. These give their daughters to other circles, surreptitiously against the rules of their circle, and they do so only where they are able to drive a hard bargain.

Kapol (Hindu 2,535 ; Jain 10)—A Vania caste. It traces its origin to Junaghad or Girnar. Kapols are chiefly found in the Amreli and Dhari talukas of the Amreli district. They are not divided into Dasa and Visa. But they have divisions called Delvadia and Ghoghari, who interdine but do not intermarry. Their family priests are Kandolia Brahmans who take their name from Kandol near Than in Kathiawad. Their family goddess is *Samudri Mata* whose chief shrine is at Samudri, a Dhrangadra village, twenty miles from Than. Some of their families have settled in Bombay, where they hold a high place as merchants. They are Vaishnava Vallabhachari in religion.

Khadayata (Hindu 3,850, Jain 13)—A Vania caste which takes its name from Khadat, a village near Vijapur. Khadayatas are found chiefly in Baroda and Mehsana districts. They are numerous in the Savli and Vaghodia talukas. They are divided into Visa and Dasa. Their family priests are Khadayata Brahmans and their family deity is *Kotyarkeshvar* of Khadat Mahudi near Vijapur in the Mehsana district. They are Vallabhachari Vaishnavas and have to pay large sums for marriageable girls. The Visa section has nine circles : (*i*) Umreth circle

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of 14 villages, (*ii*) Nadiad circle, (*iii*) Kheda Matar circle, (*iv*) Ahmedabad circle, (*v*) Haldarwas circle, (*vi*) Vanswada circle, (*vii*) Modasa, (*viii*) Dakshin chok and (*ix*) Madras. The largest circle is No. (*ii*).

Lad (Hindu 7,754; Jain 44)—A Vania caste; next to Shrimalis and Porwads, Lads are the most numerous in the Vania population of the State. They are found chiefly in Baroda and Dabhoi. They take their name from *Lat-desh*, the old name of South Gujarat, that is the country south of the Mahi river. They are divided into Visa and Dasa, who are found in equal strength in the State. Their family priests are Khedaval Brahmans and their family diety is *Ashapuri Mata* near Petlad. Their old names ended in *rai* and *pal* instead of in *das* or *lal* as at present, as Kalianrai, Dhanpal, etc. They are Vallabhachari Vaishnav.

Modh (Hindu 4,268 ; Jain 21)—A Vania caste which derives its name from Modhera in the Chanasma taluka of the Mehsana district. Modh Vanias form an important element in the Vania community and are found in all the districts. They are also found in Malwa, where some of them seem to have emigrated from Modhera, while others migrated to Adalaj, Gogha and other places in Gujarat, when Ala-ud-Din's army invaded Gujarat in 1298 A.D. Modh Vanias are divided into six different sub-castes each of which keeps itself aloof from the rest, and illustrates how castes are subdivided in Gujarat. The main divisions are *Adalja* from Adalaj near Ahmedabad; *Goghva* from Gogha and *Mandaliya* from Mandal, formerly a place of consequence about 48 miles north-west of Ahmedabad. All the divisions are subdivided into Visa and Dasa. Goghva and Adalja intermarry in Kathiawad and Cutch, but not in Gujarat proper. At the wedding of Modh Vanias, a sword and a fly-whisk are used which suggest a Rajput origin. But no trace of tribal surnames remains. They are Vallabhachari Vaishnavas. Malwa Modhs used to allow widow remarriage so late as in the 17th century. They appear to have however given it up in imitation of the Deccani Brahmans, who accompanied the Maratha invaders and settled in Malwa.

The large class of oilmen, known in Gujarat as Modh Ghanchi, were originally Modh Vanias, who by taking to making and selling oil were considered as degraded and now form a separate caste. They have now improved themselves and their Ahmedabadi section especially is now keen on calling themselves Vania.

Nagar (Hindu 3,619)—A caste of Vanias. Like Nagar Brahmans, it claims Vadnagar as its original seat. Nagar Vanias are found in considerable number in the Mehsana *prant*, more especially in Vadnagar, Visnagar and Vijapur. They are divided into Dasa, Visa and Pancha. Like the Brahmans of the same name, they are shrewd and intelligent and are mainly employed in trade or government service. In religion they are Vallabhachari Vaishnava. A small subdivision called Bam Nagars wear the sacred thread and are Shaiva. They are strict observers of religious ceremonials and do not eat with other Vanias.

Oswal (Jain 3,505)—A caste of Vanias. According to Tod (Western India, 465), they are descendants of the Solanki Kings of Anhilwada (A.D. 942-1240), who gave up the sword for the till. They have such surnames as Chaudhri, Jhala, etc., which supports the theory of their Rajput origin. They are divided into three sub-castes, Visa, Dasa and Pancha or Leta. The last subdivision is found in Cutch and ranks the lowest. They allow widow remarriage and few Shravak or Meshri Vanias eat with them. Dasa Oswal marry Dasa Shrimali and Dasa Porwad, but Dasa and Visa Oswals, though they eat together do not intermarry. The family goddess of all Oswals is *Osia* in Marwar. Their priests are mostly Audich Brahmans.

Porwad (Hindu 1,314 ; Jain 6,553)—A Vania caste said to take its name from Porwad, a suburb of Shrimâl or Bhinmâl, the old capital of South Marwar. They are divided into Visa and Dasa who interdine but do not intermarry. Among Visa Porwads, there are both Jains and Vaishnavas. Their family priests are the Shrimali Brahmans and their family deity is the *Shri* or *Mahalakshmi* of Shrimal. They are partly Vaishnavas and partly Jains. The Dasas are more than twice as numerous as Visas in the State.

Shrimali (Hindu 4,637 ; Jain 29,535)—A Vania caste. Like Shrimali Brahmans they are settlers from Marwar. They are subdivided into Visa, Dasa and the Ladva. There are very few Ladvas in the State, but the Dasas are nearly double the strength of Visas. Like Oswal, they are said to be descendants of Solanki Rajputs. According to their caste story at Bhimral in Marwar, 90,000 families were created by Shri or Mahalakshmi, the daughter of the Sage Bhrigu (out of her flower garland, say one party, and out of her thigh, say another). Visa and Dasa Shrimalis eat together but do not intermarry; neither of them eat with the Ladvas. The Visa Shrimalis are mostly Jains. The Dasas are either Jains or Vaishnavas. Jains and Vaishnava are pretty equally distributed in the Mehsana and Baroda districts and in the Baroda City. The Shrimali Sonis originally belonged to the Shrimali Vania class, but now form a new caste owing to their change of occupation.

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Vania Sonis of Amreli are Vanias in all respects.

Umad (Jain 1,233)—A Vania caste; said to have entered Gujarat from Marwar about ten centuries ago. They are partly Vaishnava and partly Jain and are found mainly in the Mehsana and Baroda districts. The two sections, Visa and Dasa, exist also in almost equal strength, interdining, but not allowing marriage. The name "Umad" is said to have been derived from Humda, the spiritual head of *guru*, who established the class. They are also called Vagadiya, from the Vagad or wild country including Dungarpur, Pratapgarh and Sagvada, where considerable numbers are still settled. The headquarters of the caste are still at Sagvada near Dungarpur. They are mostly Jains of the strict Sthanakvasi (non-idolatrous) sect. There is a tradition that they originated from Patan about the 9th or 10th century and that there was a ruler of Patan named Ajit Shatru (*sic*), whose two sons quarrelled about the succession, and the elder eventually relinquished the throne and was coverted to Jainism through the preaching of a Muni called Matungacharya. But this tradition is not borne out by the facts of history, such as are available.

VANKAR—See under Depressed Classes.

VANSFODA—See under Depressed Classes.

VARLI—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

VASAWA—See under Primitive and Forest Tribes.

VOHRA (Agricultural) (16,646)—Are the descendants of the Kanbi and other cultivating castes, who adopted Islam at the close of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth centuries They are found mainly in the Baroda and Navsari districts. Their language is Gujarati and their ordinary food is rice, millet-bread and pulse. They eat fish or flesh but never drink liquor. Except in towns where they have lately adopted Musalman fashions, peasant Vohras, both males and females, dress like ordinary Hindus, males in *dhoti, bandi* and *fenta* and women in *sallo, ghagro* and *kapdu*. Their ornaments are peculiar, very massive and heavy and in make partly Hindu, partly Musalman. They marry only among themselves. But a few rich men in towns have begun to marry with regular Musalmans. Those who claim high-class descent, *i.e.*, from Brahmans, Vanias, or Kanbis take wives from, but refuse to give their daughters in marriage to those who are descended from Kolis, Ravalias, Dheds and other low castes. Almost all are landholders or peasants, but some go to Burma or East Africa for trade or labour. Their home language is Gujarati, but a change is going on from Gujarati to Urdu. They are Sunnis in faith and have their Pirzadahs or spiritual guides whom they treat with great respect. Most of the peasant Vohras still keep some Hindu practices. Some of their males have Hindu names, as Akhuji, Bajibhai, etc., others have oddly changed Musalman names, Ibru or Ibla for Ibrahim and Ipsu or Isap for Yusuf; among women, Khaja for Khatija and Fatudi for Fatima. At death, their women beat their breast and wail like Hindus. They celebrate marriage, pregnancy and death by giving caste dinners in which *ladu, kansar* and such other vegetable Hindu dishes alone are prepared. When a caste dinner is to be given the village barber is sent round to ask the guests. Each village has its headman of the community and caste disputes are settled in a meeting of the community in some central place.

VOHRA (Trading) (11,709)—These are mostly descendants of Hindu converts to the teaching of Ismalian missionaries who came to Gujarat in the 11th century. Even now they have such surnames as Dave, Travadi, Mehta, etc., pointing to their Brahman or Vania origin. A few Vohras claim descent from Egyptian and Arab refugees. They are the richest and most prosperous class of Musalmans in the State. Trading Vohras are divided into five sections—Daudi, Sulemani, Alia, Jaffri and Naghoshi or Rotia. The last four were formed by schisms from the main body.

Daudi Vohras are the most numerous among the Vohras in the State. They are also the richest and the most widely spread class in India. They are to be found in Aden, Zanzibar, Rangoon, Siam, China and other places, where they have migrated for trade. Boys' names end in *ji* or *ali*, as Ismailji, Yusufali, etc. A few girls have Hindu names, but the rest have oddly changed Musalman names such as Khatli for Khatija, Fatudi for Fatima and Ahli for Ayeshah. They shave their head, wear long thin beards and cut the hair on the upper lip close. Their women pencil their eyelids with collyrium, blacken their teeth with *missi* and redden the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet with henna. Their home-tongue is Gujarati marked by some peculiarities in pronunciation, such as the irregular use of the dental and palatal *d* and *t* and of *kh* for *qu*. Daudi Vohras are noted for their fondness for living in large and airy houses and for their love of display in house ornaments and furniture. Their chief occupation is trade. Some Daudis in Sidhpur have large trade dealings in Bombay, Madras and Africa. Others are local traders and shopkeepers selling hardware, stationery, etc. Their women do house

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work and weave cotton turbans. Daudis are Shiahs of the Mustalian division of the great Ismaili sect. They are fond of pilgrimages to Mecca and Karbala. They abstain from music and dancing and from using or dealing in tobacco and intoxicating drinks or drugs. Of late, they have made a few converts chiefly of their servants and Hindu women taken in marriage. Their leader, both in things religious and social, is their Mullah who has headquarters at Surat. The Daudi Vohras in Kadi have their Mullah there who decides all religious and social disputes. Appeals against his decision lie to the Miya Saheb who resides in Ahmedabad and appeal against the decisions of the latter lie to the Bhai Saheb who also resides in Ahmedabad. The final appeal lies to the Bava Saheb who resides in Surat. On both religious and civil questions, his authority is final. Discipline is enforced in religious matters by fine and in cases of adultery and drunkenness, by fine and excommunication. Every important settlement of Daudi Vohras has its Mullah or Deputy of the head Mullah. Appeal from him lies to the head Mullah.

Sulemani Vohras, though not so numerous as Daudi Vohras, are an influential division of the trading Vohras. The origin of the Sulemani sect was during the sixteenth century, when a Surat Vohra sent as a missionary to Arabia, succeeded in making a considerable number of converts. These, besides by the regular name of Ismail, became known as Biazi Vohras, from the priest's title of Biazi, the fair. For a time, they considered the Gujarat high priest as their head. But about the close of the sixteenth century upon the death of Daud bin Ajabshah, the high priest of Gujarat Vohras, the Gujarat Vohras chose as his successor one Daud bin Kutabshah. Meanwhile one of the Yaman priesthood, Suleman by name, was accepted by the people of Yaman as the successor. He came over to Gujarat, but finding his claim rejected by all, returned to Arabia. Such of the Gujarat Vohras as upheld his claim were called Sulemani. In look, belief and customs, the Sulemanis do not differ from the Daudi Vohras with whom they associate but do not marry. They are a small class. They have given up the Gujarat Vohra dress and turban. Their home language is both Gujarati and Hindustani and they have begun to marry with regular Musalmans.

Alia Vohras are so called from Ali, the founder, one of the sons of Shaikh Adam, the head Mullah, who passing over his sons, appointed one Shaikh Tayyib as his successor. Tayyib had very few followers. Like Sulemanis, Alias do not intermarry with Daudis but do not differ from them in appearance or customs.

Jaffri Vohras are a section of the trading Vohras, who became Sunni on the advent of Muzaffar I, as Governor of Gujarat in A. D. 1391. They kept up their marriage relations with the Daudi section until their connection was severed by a saint named *Sayad Jaafari Shiraji* from whose name, they are called Jaffri. They are also called *Patani* from Patan, their headquarters. Because they are Sunnis, they are also known as *badi jamat*, the large body, and as *char yari* or believers in the Prophet's four companions, *as-habs*. In appearance they differ somewhat from Daudis, and from ordinary Musalmans by their round narrow-rimmed brown or black turban. Their occupation is trade and keeping of hardware, glass, cloth and stationery shops. Among them males have such names as Umar, Usman and Ali, preceded by Mian and followed by Bhai. Female names are like those of Daudi women. They marry only among themselves. Each settlement has its headman and forms a fairly organised body.

Naghoshi or Rotia literally means bread-eater. They form a very small section founded in A. D. 1789 by a member who held certain peculiar doctrines prominent among which was that to eat animal food was sin. From this, his followers came to be called *Naghoshi*, non-flesh eating or *Rotia*, bread-eaters. They intermarry with Alia but not with Daudi Vohras.

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APPENDIX X

DIVORCE

1. Introductory—About the time of promulgation of the Baroda Divorce Act in 1931 His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad expressed a desire that the existing practices of divorce among castes which permit it, should be enquired into. This note is an attempt to analyse the data made available by the enquiry which was conducted along with the census. It must be clearly understood at the outset that the census proper never attempts to enquire into the question of divorce, as it treats divorced persons as widowed, and further, that divorce is not a subject which lends itself to a proper statistical survey. The data obtained are of a descriptive nature and have few homogeneous aspects which could enable their tabulation; the material cannot be grouped into well-defined categories and few general conclusions can be drawn. An idea of these difficulties can be had when it is seen that there are nearly a hundred castes returning information which is not alike in any two. The ramifications of sub-castes which are again disintegrated by localities, multiply the varieties of social customs to an extent which almost defies analysis in a survey so modest as this. In such circumstances the second best line for the statistician is to deal with typical examples and the most frequently occurring aspects, to determine some common factors for a rough grouping and to view the data serially rather than in its cumulative perspective. The treatment of divorce practices in these pages therefore will be more in the nature of a series of loose-knit observations with the single common thread of the theme than a compact bird's-eye view.

2. Marriage and Divorce—Divorce has come as a corollary only after the axiom of marriage was established. The nature of divorce therefore varies according as the nature of marriage is considered institutional or as a phase of human relations. The institutional aspects of marriage and divorce are mainly social, religious and legal in their order of evolution, because in the beginning cognate societies codified their social tenets and called it religion and subsequently law. Yet it is not always that social custom, religious rulings and legal clauses harmonise, as the present Hindu Society illustrates, on the point of divorce. All the three aspects are present side by side—first, social custom renders marriage a utilitarian agreement and divorce is easy if the agreement proves unsatisfactory; secondly religion considers marriage a sacrament and does not conceive of its dissolution, while law fluctuates between social practice and religious edicts. The aspects of marriage as a phase of human relationship are physical and psychological. Human relations and particularly those between husband and wife are not hidebound by any set of rules and therefore are simple. If the marriage is neither a proper biological mating nor a temperamental harmony, it fails and it fails in spite of any custom, religion or law which may refuse to conceive of such a failure. It is the impossibility of continuation of marital relations between two discordant parties which led society first to provide for a release from marriage ties. As said above, at the evolution of social rules into religion this provision was also accepted, but the founders of the Hindu religion like the later Roman Catholics, have set such a hyperidealistic premium on the sanctity of the marriage institution that its nullity is almost impossible. Other religions however perhaps being much younger, have appreciated and made due allowance for the want of universal perfection. Law has generally followed the line of least resistance, favouring the opinion of the majority—be it for social or religious sanction. It is evident, therefore, that it is human relations that ultimately determine social custom, modify or override religion to suit their convenience and force law into recognition of human needs; and it is only because Hindu religion has been a monopoly in the safe keeping of an oligarchy for hundreds of years that human pressure has not hitherto succeeded in modifying it. Many communities have however wisely shelved religion in inconvenient matters like divorce, which must sooner or later receive universal legal sanction as it has already done in Baroda State.

3. Divorce and Society—In the meanwhile as far as Hindu society is concerned, the further away from religious ritual a community is, the more human its customs appear; in other words convenience in social customs seems to vary inversely with contiguity to religion. This explains why a man of the depressed classes, a Raniparaj, or a Koli, who is beyond the pale of strict Brahmanic influence freely allows divorce. As the strata of society go higher the aspects of divorce get more complicated. While for instance purely physical causes like impotency or sterility are common grounds for divorce in primitive tribes, intensely psychological causes like "incompatibility of temperament" distinguish those at the top of the social ladder. Between these extremes are sets of causes not necessarily exclusive of each other, like:—religious—such as conversion, socio-religious—such as loss of caste, socio-ethical—such as adultery, legal—such as bigamy, or economic—such as inability to maintain a wife. These causes operate amongst all the classes of society with varying importance, though those pertaining to human

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relations are necessarily common to all classes. In Hindu society as it stands at present, grounds for divorce tend to assume a more institutional aspect as a community gets 'advanced.' In the ascent towards the higher social level, as custom becomes more stringent, religious ritual more exacting and ethics more ruthless, offences against the institution of marriage appear to be considered graver than offences against the human relations of man and wife. It was with a view to remedy this state of affairs that His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad launched the latest bold experiment of offering legal redress to those whom it was denied by religion or tradition.

4. The Baroda Divorce Act : Its Purpose—It is a sad truism that Hindu advanced castes have occasion to seek relief from the law against their own religion which has completely pervaded their every-day life, and whenever such an occasion comes one can be sure that the aid of the law is invoked against some unnatural or inhuman edict, not of religion so much as of a cruel tradition which has displaced religion. In the present instance law in the Baroda State has come to the rescue of a people whose religion had once provided for divorce (of a kind) but whose traditions would not countenance it. The preamble of the Baroda Hindu Divorce Act (Act 22 of 1931) says :—

"The Parsis, Mahomedans and Christians are at liberty to dissolve marriage according to the law applicable to each of these communities. The Hindus in the present time are not allowed by any law to dissolve marriage ; divorces are allowed by custom only in certain communities. It appears however that they were allowed by scriptures even in the higher communities in ancient times; but in course of time people lost sight of the fact and there is a traditional belief prevalent in certain communities that there can be no divorce among the Hindus. People at certain stage of social progress suffer mentally the evil effects of traditions and sentiments because they have not the courage to remove the defects of such traditions and sentiments or they do not know how to do it. This act is enacted with a view to give healthy facilities to the Hindu society and to promote its happiness. It contains provisions for filing a suit for the dissolution of marriage. But the communities in which divorces are allowed by custom will be at liberty to dissolve marriage according to their customs ; only such dissolutions will have to be registered in courts."

5. The Provisions of the Act—The Act came in force on the 10th August 1931, and applied to Hindus including Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs of the State domicile. The definition of domicile varies slightly according as the suit is for dissolution, nullity of marriage, judicial separation, separate residence or restitution of conjugal rights. The parties can be husband or wife if they are majors and if they are minors, their next friend. Grounds for divorce briefly are (where it is possible for either party)—

(1) disappearance for seven years,
(2) becoming a recluse,
(3) conversion to another religion,
(4) guilt of cruelty,
(5) desertion without reasonable cause for a period of more than three years after commencement of co-habitation,
(6) addiction to intoxicants to the detriment of fulfilment of marital obligation,
(7) adultery,
(8) impotence (of husband), and
(9) pregnancy of wife without husband's knowledge or bigamy on part of the wife.

Suits are to be framed only on clearly stated grounds and in case of adultery the co-respondent also is to be hauled up. The court is to hear the suit in the presence of jurors of whom the majority will be of the parties' caste. The jurors' majority opinion is taken on points of fact and the court either gives judgment or refers the suit to a higher court according as it agrees or disagrees with the jurors. Nullity of marriages is granted upon either party discovering an infirmity or a different religion in the other. Judicial separation or separate residency can be granted upon all the above grounds with the following in addition :—Lunacy after marriage, cessation of conjugal relations for more than three years owing to incompatibility of temperament and bigamy on part of either party.

6. The Act and Existing Divorce Customs—As noted above, divorce according to existing social practices will be allowed so long as every such divorce is registered. The Act has not only refrained from infringing upon communal usages of divorce but on the contrary has been an additional convenience to caste custom, as well as an appeal over the caste's decision. It is also expected to exercise a healthy check through its system of registration over divorces sometimes obtained among lower castes on frivolous grounds, and over those surreptitious agreements between the first and second husbands by which divorce custom is exploited for virtual trafficking in wives.

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7. The Public Attitude towards the Divorce Act—The Divorce Act is yet too new to prove its utility to the general public although it is endorsed by members of Dhara Sabha. It is however hailed as a landmark of social legislation from distant places in India. Women have welcomed it as an escape from misalliance to which a coercive tradition had hitherto bound them. But its inauguration is not likely to show immediate results; provision is made for an occasional social need; it is not as if this flood-gate was opened to relieve the pressure of marital miseries, and a considerable period of time must elapse before the effect of this law will enable one to assign values to it.

8. The Enquiry: Preliminary Arrangements—The special enquiry into the practice of divorce in the State which forms the theme of this appendix was started as a result of the following cablegram received by me on the 20th December 1930 from His Excellency the Dewan Saheb, when he was in England with His Highness the Maharaja Saheb:—

> "His Highness desires you to collect information about existing customs in regard to divorce among communities in which divorce is permitted. Stop. After collection the information should be tabulated for each caste or community separately."

A questionnaire therefore was drawn up by the Census department and referred to the census committees appointed in connection with inquiries *re:* social, economic and general condition of the people for collecting information on this question too. This department also referred to the Registration, Judicial and Revenue departments for information relating to this subject.

9. The Questionnaire—The questionnaire consisted of 36 questions divided into the following main heads:—

(1) whether the practice of divorce is old or newly introduced;
(2) whether the practice is unilateral or bilateral, *i.e.*, which of the parties to a marriage can give divorce;
(3) what are valid grounds for divorce;
(4) what is the authority of the caste *panchas* in the matter;
(5) what ceremonies are performed at the time of divorce;
(6) what price, if any, has got to be paid for procuring a divorce;
(7) what is the practice as to reducing the consent to divorce to writing; whether it is registered or not;
(8) what is the practice in regard to the divorce of minors;
(9) whether resort to court is taken by the parties or not;
(10) whether a woman is taken in marriage while her first husband is living or not; and
(11) whether children of a divorced mother inherit the property of her second husband.

10. Special Additional Statistics called for—In addition to the subjects comprised in the foregoing questionnaire the following other data were collected:—

(*a*) The Registration department was asked to furnish in regard to registered deeds of divorce details regarding:—
  (1) castes of the parties to divorce,
  (2) reasons for the divorce,
  (3) party executing the divorce deed,
  (4) consideration for the deed, and
  (5) whether divorce is compulsorily registrable.

(*b*) The Judicial department was asked to furnish information regarding:—
  (1) criminal complaints
    (*a*) under Wife's Possession Act,
    (*b*) under Section 498 of the Penal Code *re*: adultery, and
    (*c*) under Section 488 of Penal Code *re*: marrying again while the husband or wife is living.
  (2) civil suits regarding
    (*a*) restitution of conjugal rights, and
    (*b*) *fargati* (release from the marriage bond).

(*c*) Lastly, the Revenue mahal officers were asked to furnish statistics *re*: divorces registered under the Marriage and Divorce Registration Act.

11. Volume and Variety of Data collected—We have already stated that the Indian Census does not deal with the question of divorce in any of its aspects. It cannot therefore help us in any way to study this subject. We have therefore to rely on the material received in response to our questions. The responses to the questionnaire related to 74 Hindu and 23 Muslim castes as also for the Parsi community. The names of the castes for which the returns were received are given on the next page along with their population strength.

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Caste	Strength of Population
All Castes	*2,002,678*
Advanced	**367,225**
Hindu and Jain	*315,841*
Barot	4,505
Bhavsar	5,876
Brahman	*6,070*
Tapodhan	6,070
Other	*Not available*
Ghanchi	14,300
Kachhia	8,155
Lewa Patidar ..	226,871
Luhana	13,597
Soni	12,177
Sutar	24,290
Muslim	*44,257*
Khoja	2,167
Memon	8,971
Pinjara	4,764
Vohra (Agricultural). .	16,646
Vohra (Trading) ..	11,709
Parsi	*7,127*
Intermediate	**949,107**
Hindu, Jain and Tribal.	*847,441*
Anjana Chaudhari ..	38,459
Baria	103,775
Bava and Gosain ..	28,134
Chamar	42,802
Darji	15,753
Garoda	7,796
Kadwa Patidar ..	219,161
Kumbhar	52,276
Luhar	21,062
Mochi	10,598
Primitive and Forest Tribes	*64,918*
Chodhra	38,786
Dhodia	26,132
Rajput	94,893
Sathwara	6,550
Targala	5,242
Valand	28,034
Vankar-Dhed	107,988
Muslim	*101,666*
Fakir	6,495
Ghanchi	7,426
Hajam	1,129
Malek	11,206
Molesalam	10,862
Momna	13,829
Pathan	15,884
Shaikh	26,073
Sindhi	4,602
Tai	4,160
Illiterate	**599,320**
Bhangi	31,018
Bharwad-Rabari ..	70,915
Chunvalia	8,185
Primitive and Forest Tribes	*229,413*
Bhil	54,542
Dubla	12,894
Gamit	59,213
Nayakda	11,802
Tadvi	20,870
Talavia	52,565
Vasawa	17,527
Ravalia	27,614
Thakarda (Hindu and Jain)	191,195
Vagher	5,175
Vaghri	35,805
Hindu, Jain and Tribal other	**85,001**
Bajania	3,925
Barad Patidar ..	*Not available*
Bhandari	205
Bharathari	255
Bhoi	4,765
Charan	2,611
Dabgar	961
Dhobi	2,672
Gondha	*Not available*
Kadia	1,946
Kalal	1,606
Kansara	2,159
Kharwa	6,699
Khatri	3,125
Khavas	*Not available*
Koli	27,438
Lakkadfoda	*Not available*
Machhi	5,681
Mali	2,723
Matia-Patidar ..	3,530
Meghwal	*Not available*
Od	2,028
Otara	*Not available*
Primitive and Forest Tribes	*7,952*
Kokna	7,952
Sagar	1,364
Sarania	554
Sikligar Luhar ..	*Not available*
Tamboli	535
Teli	18
Turi	1,711
Vansfoda	478
Muslim other	**2,025**
Bhadela	1,908
Chauhan	*Not available*
Gandharva (Mumna) ..	Do.
Kassi	117
Khatri	*Not available*
Mochi	*Do.*
Rangrej	*Do.*
Sepoy	*Do.*

The margin gives the population by religion for which returns have been received. It will be seen that divorce is allowed by all religions except the Hindu and the Jain. Amongst the Hindus, however, almost all castes practise it except the Vanias and the Brahmans, though stray cases are met with in both these classes also. Even amongst Brahmans, Tapodhan, Rajgar and Vyas sub-castes are reported to be practising it. The last two castes were not separately compiled. But if we deduct the Tapodhan strength from the total of Brahmans we get 123,714 Brahmans and 86,425 Vanias not practising divorce. If we deduct the total of these Brahmans and Vanias from the remaining Hindu, Jain and Tribal strength we get 186,411 persons for whom returns are not received but they mostly belong to lower Hindu elements which generally practise divorce. Before however accepting as true the above strength of the population practising divorce, we have to reckon the fact sometimes happening that although a caste may allow divorce, yet the advanced or socially higher section may not be practising it, *e. g.*, the Charotar section amongst Lewa Patidars does not allow this practice at all. Amongst Muslims, Christians and Parsis, it is allowed by their religion and all members of those faiths practise it. But here too, the socially higher sections do not practise it. Some of the converted Rajput houses who are considered *kulin* like the Makwanas and Khants and other higher groups of Molesalams forbid divorce as being contrary to good form. The following castes are reported to have given up the practice of divorce within recent years in the localities shown against their names :—

Religion	Total population	Returned as practising divorce	Remainder
Hindu, Jain and Tribal ..	2,244,153	1,847,603	396,550
Parsi	7,127	7,127	..
Muslim	182,030	147,948	34,082

Hindu

1. Dhobi (Chanasma mahal).
2. Darji (Chanasma, Kheralu, Padra and Karjan).
3. Gola (Baroda City).
4. Lewa Patidar (Dehgam mahal).
5. Luhana (Okhamandal).

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6. Pancholi Sutar (Baroda City).
7. Barot (Padra mahal).
8. Rajput (Kadi mahal).
9. Bhavsar (Kadi, Mahuva and Chanasma).

MUSALMAN

10. Saiyad (Padra).

12. Statistics relating to Divorce supplied by Other Departments—In order to know the extent of this practice in the State—

(*i*) The registration of divorces like that of marriages was made compulsory in the State under the Marriage and Divorce Registration Act in the year 1923-24. The following statement gives the number of divorces so registered by caste upto the end of February 1931, *i.e.*, for a period of 7½ years since the Act came into operation.

NAME OF CASTE	NUMBER OF DIVORCES REGISTERED IN								
	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31 February	Total
All Castes	**316**	**362**	**398**	**310**	**447**	**434**	**431**	**186**	**2,884**
Advanced	*15*	*14*	*19*	*6*	*14*	*20*	*10*	*2*	*100*
Hindu and Jain	*13*	*10*	*15*	*5*	*11*	*13*	*6*	*1*	*74*
Ghanchi	6	..	2	2	2	1	2	..	15
Kachhia	4	7	9	3	8	6	2	..	39
Sutar	3	3	4	..	1	6	2	1	20
Muslim	*2*	*4*	*3*	*1*	*3*	*7*	*4*	*1*	*25*
Khoja	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Vohra	2	4	3	1	3	7	3	1	24
Parsi	..	..	*1*	..	..	..	..	..	*1*
Intermediate	*123*	*124*	*143*	*114*	*139*	*151*	*151*	*65*	*1,010*
Hindu, Jain and Tribal	*122*	*124*	*143*	*114*	*139*	*149*	*148*	*65*	*1,004*
Baria	45	49	31	25	40	37	24	17	268
Bava and Gosain	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	3
Chamar	9	4	8	7	6	5	8	3	50
Kadwa Patidar	21	20	26	24	20	27	35	12	185
Karadia	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	4
Kumbhar	4	1	2	7	3	4	4	2	27
Luhar	1	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	5
Mochi	1	2	4	2	6	4	3	..	22
Primitive and Forest Tribes	*5*	*5*	*14*	*8*	*14*	*14*	*17*	*1*	*78*
Chodhra	1	..	2	2	..	3	4	..	12
Dhanka	3	5	12	6	12	11	13	1	63
Dhodia	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
Rajput	1	3	5	7	3	3	2	1	25
Targala	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Valand	..	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	13
Vankar-Dhed	35	37	50	30	41	50	51	28	322
Muslim	*1*	..	..	..	..	*2*	*2*	..	*5*
Mumna	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Shaikh	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	3
Indian Christian	..	..	..	..	..	..	*1*	..	*1*
Illiterate	*132*	*175*	*197*	*153*	*221*	*204*	*196*	*98*	*1,376*
Bhangi	9	7	13	4	12	24	26	6	101
Bharwad-Rabari	1	2	1	1	3	2	..	2	12
Primitive and Forest Tribes	*93*	*138*	*155*	*122*	*176*	*138*	*141*	*79*	*1,042*
Bhil and Vasawa	28	20	28	23	31	22	47	16	215
Dubla	11	33	28	21	38	28	25	15	199
Gamit	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	5
Nayakda	..	1	2	..	1	4	3	..	11
Talavia	12	15	18	15	14	18	23	9	124
Unspecified	41	68	79	62	92	66	42	38	488
Ravalia	5	1	3	4	3	3	6	3	28
Thakarda (Hindu and Jain)	2	16	8	12	11	15	8	2	74
Vaghri	22	11	17	10	16	22	15	6	119
Hindu and Jain Rest	*25*	*28*	*26*	*24*	*46*	*33*	*47*	*11*	*240*
Koli	22	25	20	22	39	26	41	9	204
Other	3	3	6	2	7	7	6	2	36
Muslim Rest	*21*	*21*	*13*	*13*	*27*	*26*	*27*	*10*	*158*

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(*ii*) Though the registration of divorce was introduced in the State in the year 1923-24, it was customary with the parties to a divorce to reduce their consent to writing and get it registered in order to avoid future complications in the matter. The Registration department was asked to furnish such cases for the last 10 years and they are given below by caste. It may be mentioned that no such cases were registered in the Amreli and Okhamandel *prants* at all.

Caste	No. of Divorces with deeds registered	Caste	No. of Divorces with deeds registered	Caste	No. of Divorces with deeds registered
1	2	1	2	1	2
All Castes	**287**	Vohra (Agricultural)..	1	*Muslim*	*1*
Advanced	**79**	*Parsi*	14	Shaikh	1
Hindu and Jain ..	*60*	**Intermediate**	**149**	**Illiterate**	**30**
Brahmabat	1	*Hindu, Jain and Tribal.*	*148*	Bhangi	1
Brahman	*3*	Anjana Chaudhari ..	14	Bharwad-Rabari ..	16
Audich	1	Baria	13	*Primitive & Forest Tribes.*	*3*
Unspecified.. ..	2	Bava	4	Bhil	2
Ghanchi	2	Darji	1	Vasawa	1
Kachhia (Khambhar) .	1	Garoda	2	Ravalia	3
Lewa Patidar ..	49	Kadwa Patidar ..	65	Shenva	1
Sutar	2	Kumbhar	2	Thakarda (Hindu and Jain)	4
Vania	*2*	Luhar	9	Vaghri	2
Disawal	1	Mochi	2	**Hindu and Jain Rest** ..	**15**
Modh	1	Patanwadia	7	**Muslim Rest**	**14**
Muslim	*5*	Rajput	2		
Memon	3	Sathwara	2		
Pinjara	1	Targala	2		
		Valand	1		
		Vankar-Dhed.. ..	22		

(*iii*) It was further thought that the statistics regarding (1) divorce suits, (2) suits for restitution of conjugal rights and of possession of wife, and (3) bigamy and adultery cases would be instructive regarding the extent of resort to courts in such cases and also of the offences which led to such a resort. The figures supplied by the Judicial department for the last ten years are given below :—

Name of Caste	Divorce suits	Suits for restitution of conjugal rights	Suits for possession of wife	Suits for bigamy	Suits for adultery
1	2	3	4	5	6
All Castes	**224**	**368**	**2,899**	**1,410**	**1,150**
Advanced	**20**	**58**	**253**	**42**	**77**
Hindu and Jain	*14*	*36*	*222*	*33*	*69*
Barot	1	2	13	3	8
Bhavsar	....	....	3	....	2
Brahman	2	12	72	2	16
Ghanchi	2	3	19	1	10
Kachhia (Khambhar)	1	1	11	....	4
Luhana	1	1	5	1	2
Maratha	4	3	39	4	2
Soni	1	9	19	2	6
Sutar	1	1	27	17	8
Vania	1	4	14	3	11
Muslim	*5*	*19*	*27*	*8*	*8*
Khoja	....	2	6	....	....
Memon	2	12	10	3	....
Pinjara	....	1	2	....	1
Saiyad	1	1	1	....	....
Vohra	2	3	8	5	7
Parsi	*1*	*3*	*4*	*1*	....
Intermediate	**95**	**181**	**1,094**	**438**	**414**
Hindu, Jain and Tribal	*92*	*179*	*1,075*	*433*	*407*
Anjana Chaudhari..	2	3	15	....	16
Baria	26	10	237	127	112

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Name of Caste	Divorce Suits	Suits for restitution of conjugal rights	Suits for possession of wife	Suits for bigamy	Suits for adultery
1	2	3	4	5	6
Intermediate—*contd.*					
Bava and Gosain	4	8	27	12	16
Chamar	6	....	38	9	6
Darji	4	7	13	3	3
Garoda	1	3	4	....	2
Gola	1	1	8	....	1
Kadwa Patidar	16	58	219	128	112
Karadia	....	2	15	3	....
Kumbhar	10	17	60	10	14
Luhar	1	6	25	10	10
Mochi	5	3	26	15	3
Patanwadia	2	....	8	5	9
Primitive and Forest Tribes	....	*2*	*21*	*20*	*5*
Chodhra	....	....	....	17	....
Dhanka	....	....	17	3	5
Dholia	....	2	4	....	....
Rajput	2	3	56	36	40
Sathwara	....	1	1	....	....
Talabda	....	1	4	6	1
Targala	2	4	23	2	2
Valand	3	10	26	14	9
Vankar-Dhed	7	40	249	33	46
Muslim	1	*2*	*8*	*3*	*6*
Fakir	....	1	5	1	4
Pathan	....	1	1	....	....
Sindhi	1	....	2	2	2
Indian Christian	*2*	....	*11*	*2*	*1*
Illiterate	**41**	**52**	**864**	**461**	**402**
Bhangi	2	13	110	38	43
Bharwad-Rabari	1	5	30	52	45
Chunvalia	2	2	4	1	2
Primitive and Forest Tribes	*14*	*13*	*168*	*120*	*47*
Bhil	2	7	70	57	16
Dubla	3	....	42	20	....
Gamit	....	4	47	12	3
Nayakda	....	....	2	....	....
Tadvi	9	1	....	23	20
Talavia	....	....	5	2	6
Vasawa	....	1	2	6	2
Ravalia	6	4	51	23	22
Shenva	....	....	1	2	1
Thakarda	3	2	176	114	142
Vaghri	13	13	324	111	100
Hindu, Jain and Tribal Rest	**35**	**52**	**410**	**415**	**173**
Bhoi	1	1	33	22	7
Dhobi	3	6	11	3	1
Garasia	1	2	13	7	4
Koli	20	23	234	341	123
Primitive and Forest Tribes	2	1	20	5	2
Other	8	19	99	37	36
Muslim Rest	**33**	**25**	**278**	**54**	**84**

13. The Divorce Rate—It might be helpful to a certain extent to study such figures as are available about this interesting social phenomenon. Since 1923-24 the Revenue department of the State started the registration of divorces and although it cannot be claimed that all divorces till now are registered, the available figures may be considered good enough to show us the trend of the practice of divorce among different castes. It might be mentioned in passing that whereas hitherto divorce registration was a mere note of the fact, it will henceforward be a legally solemnised record under the new Baroda Divorce Act. The actual number of divorces since 1923-24, for caste-groups arranged according to their

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literacy standard are shown in column 2 of the marginal table. The divorce rate shown is calculated first for 100,000 persons living during the decade on the basis of the mean strength of each caste-group and then for 100,000 married persons on the same principle. It is evident from the table that the divorce rate tends to fall as literacy advances. In this connection it must be noted as an exception that the divorce rate of the Advanced Hindu and Jain castes is higher than that of the corresponding Intermediate castes. This is no doubt due to the *bourgeois* accretions to this group like Sutar, Ghanchi and Kachhia who though advanced in literacy have not abandoned their wholesome social customs like divorce and widow remarriage as some other neo-advanced castes like Maratha Kshatriya and Lewa have done in imitation of the Brahmans and Vanias. The low rate among Muslims must be due to negligence in registration (since divorce is such an easy affair with them) unless the practice of polygamy which renders divorce unnecessary is responsible for it. Depressed classes show the highest rate which might be interpreted as an indication of their wholehearted adoption of this national social custom—an adoption to which they are free owing probably to their safe distance from Brahmanic influence. The relatively low rate among tribes must certainly be due to want of registration since divorce is easy among them too. The Parsi and Christian figures are too small to be of any value. Another feature noticeable is in regard to the divorce rate worked out on the married population. Roughly half the strength of each caste is found to be in the married state: according as the married proportion fluctuates from this norm, this rate is inversely affected: thus in castes more addicted to marriage it is low, and high in castes where marriages are fewer.

Caste-Group	Number of divorces (Actual)	Divorce Rate	
		Per 100,000 persons living during decade	Per 100,000 of married persons during decade
All Groups	**1,998**	**149**	**304**
Advanced	*100*	*113*	*238*
Hindu and Jain ..	74	149	285
Muslim	25	79	186
Parsi	1	14	37
Intermediate	*1,010*	*135*	*262*
Depressed Classes ..	372	261	484
Primitive and Forest Tribes	78	120	287
Other Hindu, Jain and Tribal	554	109	208
Muslim	5	21	45
Indian Christian ..	1	14	30
Illiterate	*888*	*176*	*371*
Depressed Classes ..	101	345	631
Primitive and Forest Tribes	554	281	635
Other Hindu and Tribal	233	82	171

Besides the above there were 886 divorces in whose case, the caste was either unspecified or did not fall in any of the above groups.

14. Antiquity of the Custom of Divorce—Voluntary or involuntary separation of a couple bound in ties of marriage is a custom prevalent in almost all castes in the State from very old times. But it is more or less in abeyance in certain *kulin* sections of particular castes while others have recently introduced it amongst themselves. The Golas in the Baroda City and the Darjis in Chanasma, Padra, Kheralu and Karjan do not now have it at all. On the other hand the Khatris in Amreli and Luhars generally had it for a very long time while the Gandevi Khatris practise it for last ten years and the Visnagar Lubars practise it for 50 years. The Rajputs have had it from very old days but in Kadi mahal, it is forbidden amongst them though the Nadoda section of them can dissociate from their wives at will. Among the Musalmans, the Saiyads do not generally practise divorce while the Momnas have recently introduced it.

15. Who can sue for Divorce?—The next question that crops up is as to the competency of the party to sue for divorce. In certain castes both the parties to a marriage can move for it while in certain castes the practice is unilateral, *i.e.*, one of the two parties—generally the male—can sue for it. Here again the practice varies in different localities, *e.g.*, amongst Targalas the husband alone can give it but in Mehsana and in Kheralu both the husband and the wife in their caste are competent to give it. On the contrary amongst Khambhars, the practice is bilateral but in Kalol the husband alone has the right to give it. Amongst Khatris in Gandevi, the right rests in the *panchayat* of seven villages of their circle, while amongst Koknas it can be valid only after endorsement by the *panchayat*. Sikligar is the only caste reported, in which the right to divorce is confined to the wife alone. Amongst Musalmans except the Ghanchis, Mochis and Khojas with whom it is bilateral, this practice is unilateral, *i.e.*, the husband alone has the right to give it. The following statement gives details regarding

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Hindu and Muslim castes with their practice (whether unilateral or bilateral) and also the names of the places where one takes the other form for certain communities :—

Castes that allow divorce only to the husband	Places where such practice becomes bilateral	Castes that allow divorce only to the husband	Places where such practice becomes bilateral
1	2	1	2
Hindu, Jain and Tribal			
Anjana Chaudhari	....	Rabari	Patan, Navsari, Gandevi, Kheralu, Kalol and Bhimkatta
Bajania	....		
Barad	Vaghodia	Rajput	....
Baria	Karjan and Sinor.	Rawal	Atarsumba, Kheralu, Mehsana, Dehgam and Sinor
Barot	....		
Bava	....	Sadhu	City
Bhangi	Sinor, Petlad, Kheralu, Mahuva, Baroda and Baroda City	Sarania	....
		Sathwara	Mehsana and Kheralu
Bharthari	....	Soni	Vyara
Bhavsar	Visnagar and Kheralu	Sutar	Navsari, Gandevi, Vyara Mahuva and Visnagar.
Bhil	Vaghodia and Sinor		
Bhoi	Petlad and City	Tadvi	....
Chamar	....	Talavia	Dabhoi
Charan	....	Tapodhan	....
Chunvalia	Bhimkatta and Kadi	Targala	Mehsana, Kheralu
Dalvadi	....	Thakarda	....
Darji	....	Turi	....
Dhed	Mahuva, Sidhpur, Dehgam, Dabhoi, Atarsumba, Navsari, Gandevi, and City	Vagher	....
		Vaghri	Padra, Petlad, City, Dabhoi; Kheralu, Mehsana and Karjan
Dhobi	City, Dabhoi, Navsari, and Damnagar	Valand	Kheralu, Vyara and Beyt
Dubla	Navsari and Gandevi	Vasawa	....
Gamit	Songadh	Vyas (Brahman)	....
Garoda	....		
Ghanchi	City, Visnagar and Mehsana	**Musalman**	
		Bhadela	....
Kadia	....	Chauhan	....
Kadwa Patidar	Visnagar	Fakir	....
Kalal	....	Gandharva (Mumna)	....
Kansara	....	Ghanchi	Atarsumba
Khatri	....	Hajam	....
Khavas	....	Kasai	....
Koli	Gandevi, Mehsana, Patan and Navsari	Khatri	....
		Malek	....
Kumbhar	Vyara	Memon	....
Lakkadfoda	....	Molesalam	....
Lewa Patidar	Navsari and Baroda	Mumna	....
Luhana	....	Pathan	....
Luhar	Kheralu, Mehsana, Karjan and Vyara	Pinjara	....
		Rangrej	....
Machhi	Sinor	Sepoy	....
Matia Patidar	Mahuwa	Shaikh	....
Meghwal	....	Sindhi	Sinor
Mochi	....	Tai	....
Od	....	Vohra (Trading)	....

Castes that allow both parties freedom to divorce	Places where such bilateral practice becomes unilateral (husband alone)	Castes that allow both parties freedom to divorce	Places where such bilateral practice becomes unilateral (husband alone)
3	4	3	4
Hindu		Mali	Sinor, Baroda, Mehsana and Damnagar
Bhandari	....	Nayka	....
Chodhara	....	Otara	....
Dabgar	....	Sagar	....
Dhodia	....	Tamboli	....
Gandha	....	Teli	....
Gosain	Ratanpur and Mehsana	Vansfoda	....
Kachhia	Karjan, Tilakwada, Dabhoi and Sankheda	**Parsi**	....
		Musalman	....
Khambhar	Kadi, Kalol and Mehsana	Khoja	....
Kharva	Beyt and Okhamandal	Mochi	....
Kokna (with the help of Panch)	....	Vohra (Ghanchi)	....

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16. Parties to Release Deeds—In the majority of castes, the release deed is executed by the husband and given to the wife. In certain castes however, mutual deeds are passed, each party keeping one to ensure against betrayal of the other party. The marginal table shows that of 287 cases of divorce registered in the Sub-Registrar's offices in the State, no less than 265 were signed by the husband alone. Only in one case, it was signed by both. It will be noted that the release deeds were signed by the guardians of the husband in 10 cases in Mehsana division and by the woman alone in an equal number of cases.

Party signing the deed	Total number of cases
Total	**287**
Husband	265
Guardian of Husband.	10
Relatives of Husband.	1
Wife	10
Both	1

17. Divorce and the Minors—Where marriage is a sacrament, the divorce of minors is unthinkable. But the irony of fate is that it exists and owes its existence to the custom of child marriages in India. Its prevalence however is not universal. There are certain castes which forbid it while there are others which freely allow it. There are again certain castes in which it is allowed for the boy and not for the girl and *vice versa*. The margin sets out the castes which do or do not allow it at all. There are curious customs in this matter too. Amongst Ods, if the minor girl is pregnant, the husband cannot divorce her. Amongst Kolis, the guardians of a minor party can move for divorce but the practice is that the boy is required to hold the pen in his hand and then if he cannot write the release deed, he puts it down so as to allow somebody else to write it out on his behalf. Amongst Kansaras divorce is allowed to minors, only for indispensable reasons. The Vaghris in Dehgam have the practice of putting Rs. 12 on the laps of both the minors before divorce is given. The Musalmans also have a varying practice but amongst Vohra Ghanchis, the minor wife has to pay Rs. 127-8-0 before she can sue for divorce.

Castes in which the divorce can be sued for and accepted by guardians of the minors	Castes in which divorce can neither be sued for nor accepted on behalf of minors	
Hindu	*Hindu*	*Parsi*
Garoda	Barot	
Kachhia	Bava	*Musalman*
Kadwa (Baroda Section)	Bharthari	
Kansara	Dabgar	Chamar
Khawas	Dalwadi	Gandharva
Koli	Gondha	Khatki
Od	Kalal	
Otara	Khambhar	Memon
Rajput	Khatri	Mochi
Thakarda	Kokna	Momna
Vansfoda	Nayaka	
	Sadhu	Pathan
Musalman	Sagaria	Rangrej
Bhadela	Sarania	Sindhi
Hajam	Talavia	
Malek	Tamboli	
Molesalam	Tapodhan	

18. Reasons for Divorce—The following are reported to be the reasons which occasion divorce :—

Common grounds of divorce for both parties	Grounds of divorce for the husband alone	Grounds for divorce for the wife only
(1) Incompatibility of temperament	(1) Wife's sterility	(1) Cruelty
(2) Mutual dislike	(2) Refuse to begin marital life	(2) Ruthless beating by husband
(3) Disparity of age between the pair	(3) Not working well, i.e., to husband's desire	(3) Vagabondism on the part of the husband
(4) Quarrels between relatives	(4) Family quarrels	(4) Addiction to vices
(5) Conversion of either to other religion	(5) Disclosure of relation between prohibited degrees	(5) Impotency
(6) Insanity after marriage	(6) Bigamy on the part of the wife	(6) Husband not calling the wife to keep house for him
(7) Chronic disease	(7) Woman given to thieving habits	(7) Continuous sickness of husband
(8) Mutual consent to divorce	(8) Married only for the sake of marriage, e.g., a defective woman	(8) If exchange promised not given by the husband
(9) Licentiousness on either side	(9) Woman having bad looks ..	(9) Husband having turned into an ascetic

But the most common causes are (1) incompatibility of temperament; (2) constant domestic quarrels; (3) ill-treatment; (4) sterility and (5) adultery or bigamy on either side. Where the woman has no right to divorce, she has recourse to a court of law either for maintenance or for

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release on account of more or less the same reasons as above indicated. The following statement is illustrative of the reasons which occasioned divorces during the last ten years in the State, amongst different communities :—

Serial No.	Causes leading to Divorce	Number of Registered deeds of divorce by their causes			
		Total	Baroda	Mehsana	Navsari
	Total ..	**287**	**134**	**139**	**14**
1	Incompatibility of Temperament	240	123	106	11
2	Breach of pacts made at marriage	1	..	1	..
3	Discovery of the wife's earlier marriage	1	..	1	..
4	Divorce of sister who was given in exchange of the wife to a person of wife's party	1	..	1	..
5	Absconding husband	2	..	2	..
6	Tender age of husband in comparison to the wife's age	3	..	3	..
7	Marriage having caused disruption among relatives ..	1	..	1	..
8	Mutual dislike	4	1	3	..
9	Sterility	1	..	1	..
10	Want of equal family status of both parties	1	..	1	..
11	Husband refusing wife's maintenance	4	..	4	..
12	Wife's desertion in favour of a fresh husband	4	2	2	..
13	Husband's inability to support wife	4	..	3	1
14	Either party catching some disease	2	..	2	..
15	Either party being rendered unfit for continuation of the marital state	1	..	1	..
16	Physical defect in either party	2	1	1	..
17	Lunacy in either party	3	..	3	..
18	Absence of ordinary marital relations	3	..	1	2
19	Husband and wife belonging to different castes	1	..	1	..
20	Wife refusing to stay at husband's house	2	2	..	..
21	Husband's refusal to treat wife as such	1	1	..	..
22	Marriage having not turned out to be happy	2	2	..	..
23	Infidelity of either party	2	2	..	..
24	Husband taking *Sanyas*	1	..	1	..

19. Authority of the Caste Panchas—The next question is whether the permission of the caste *panch* is necessary for divorce or not ? It is generally necessary but in certain castes at certain places it is not necessary. The marginal table gives the names of the castes in which it is absolutely necessary and not at all necessary to seek permission of the *panchas* before a divorce is given. If both parties are willing to divorce, the permission of the *panch* is dispensed with but in cases of unwillingness on the either side, the *panch* is called upon to decide the matter. It is generally called by the party suing for divorce who bears the expenses but at certain places in certain castes it has to be borne by the defaulting party, *e.g.* Kharwa in Beyt and Ghanchi in Kheralu. In certain castes it is borne by both the parties, *e.g.* Raval in Petlad and Mehsana and Vaghri in Kadi, Mehsana, Padra, etc. It has sometimes to be borne by the husband even though he may not be at fault, *e.g.* Chunvalia in Damnagar, Bava in Baroda, Sankheda and Vaghodia talukas, and Luhanas in Amreli. Amongst Bharwad and Dheds, it is customary for the people of the village to invite *panchas* in groups at their places, and feed them so that no expenditure is incurred.

Names of castes in which the permission of the Panchas is absolutely

Necessary		Not Necessary
Hindu	*Hindu*	*Hindu*
1. Od	18. Vyas Brahman	1. Kadia
2. Otara	19. Sagària	2. Kalal
3. Kachhia	20. Sarania	3. Kansara
4. Kokna	21. Meghwal	4. Charan
5. Kumbhar	22. Tadvi	5. Teli (Deccani)
6. Koli	23. Nayakda	6. Vagher
		7. Sadhu
7. Kharwa		8. Gamit
8. Gondha	*Musalman*	9. Chodhra
9. Tapodhan		
10. Tamboli	24. Kasai	*Musalman*
11. Dulwadi	25. Khatri	
	26. Khoja	10. Gandharva
12. Barot	27. Tai	11. Chawan
13. Bharthari	28. Pathan	12. Momna
14. Bhoi	29. Bhadela	13. Molesalam
15. Bhandari	30. Malek	14. Rangrej
16. Mali	31. Mochi	15. Vohra Trading
17. Vansfoda	32. Vohra (Ghanchi)	16. Shaikh

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The general usage is that the *panch* cannot give divorce if the husband is not willing to give it; of course where both parties are willing, the permission or the interference of the *panch* is not necessary, but in certain marginally noted Hindu castes, the *panchas* are competent to give divorce for unavoidable reasons against the will of the husband, but such cases are very rare. Amongst Musalmans, the *panch* interferes only if the woman is at fault; amongst Khojas, their council after weighing the reasons *pro* and *con* pronounces in the matter of divorce while in the Muslim Ghanchis in Atarsumba and Mochis generally, the *panchas* do sanction divorce against the will of the husband. But these occasions are very rarely to be found. The general principle seems to be that the organisation of the *panch* is only set in motion in defence of the weaker party.

1. Od
2. Otara
3. Khatri (Gandevi)
4. Gosain (Mehsana)
5. Ghanchi (Mehsana and Baroda City)
6. Dabgar (Baroda City)
7. Teli
8. Dhobi (Damnagar)
9. Kadwa Patidar (Kheralu)
10. Matia Patidar (Mahuwa)
11. Barad Patidar (Vaghodia)
12. Baria (Karjan)
13. Bhoi (Atarsumba)
14. Mali (Kadi)
15. Rabari (Kalol, Khambha, Kodinar, Bhimkatta)
16. Luhar (Karjan, Chansma, Beyt)
17. Valand (Khambha)
18. Sutar (Mahuwa)
19. Chamadia (Tilakwada)
20. Bhangi (Mahuwa)

The Khojas have the most methodical form of *panch* government amongst their community. They have a council called "*Rajkot Sarhukami Shia Ismail Imami Council*" with whose permission the divorces take place. The Council has powers to grant divorce even against the will of the husband or the wife and its decree is appealable, the Agakhan having the right to hear it. Instead of the release deed, it is usual in this caste to give a copy of the council's decision to the parties. If the husband does not respond to the summons of the Council he is given three months' time, at the end of which the case is decided by Council.

20. The Mode of Divorce—There is no ceremony of a religious nature attached to the act of divorce. But custom has taken the place of religion and prescribed certain ceremonies which are required to be observed in fulfilment of the act. Before detailing the different observances, it would be better first to refer to the practice common to almost all castes to reduce in writing the act of divorce for avoiding future troubles. These deeds are mostly executed on an unstamped paper and are rarely registered, though registration is resorted to if stamp paper is used. They are usually written in the presence of the caste *panchayat* concerned and are witnessed by them. Turning now to the customary ceremonies, it would be convenient to study them by groups of castes for which returns have been received. We shall therefore divide them into the following groups :—

Serial No.	Name of Groups	Number of castes included in the groups
1	Advanced	Barot, Bhavsar, Ghanchi, Khambhar, Lewa Patidar, Luhana, Soni, Sutar, Tapodhan and Vyas Brahmans.
2	Intermediate	Anjana Chaudhari, Barad, Baria, Bava, Darji, Gosai, Kadia, Kalal, Kadwa Patidar, Kansara, Khatri, Kharwa, Kumbhar, Machhi, Mali, Rajput, Sathwara, Tamboli, Targala and Valand.
3	Depressed classes ..	Bhangi, Chamadia, Garoda, Hadi, Meghwal, Turi, Vankar (Dhed) and Vansfoda.
4	Primitive and Forest Tribes	Gamit, Chodhra, Dhodia, Dubla, Kokna, Nayaka, Tadvi, Talavia, Vasawa.
5	Rest	Bajania, Bhandari, Bharathai, Bhoi, Dhobi, Charan, Dabgar, Gondha, Khawas Lakkadfoda, Od, Sadhu, Sagaria, Sarania, Teli, Vagher, Vaghri.
6	Muslim	Bhadela, Chawan, Fakir, Ghanchi, Hazam, Kassi, Khatri, Khoja, Malek, Memon, Mochi, Molesalam, Momna, Pathan, Pinjara, Rangrej, Shaikh, Sepoy, Sindhi, Tai and Vohra.

(*i*) Amongst the Advanced section, the release deed is executed in all the castes though amongst Sonis, oral divorce is operative. Amongst Luhanas and Tapodhan Brahmans the deed is mutually executed. The Bhavsar and the Sathwara women in Kalol taluka have to take off their bangles in token of the divorce. The Khambhars in Visnagar have the practice of tearing the end of their women's *gown* (upper garment) in the presence of the *panchas*. On the other hand, the Lewa Patidars in Harij have to tear off an end piece of the husband's *falia* (turban cloth) which has to be given to the wife. The Sutars in Mehsana and the Lewa Patidars in Vyara allow the divorced woman to retain an ornament of her choice from amongst those given to her by the husband.

(*ii*) In the Intermediate class too, the *fargati* takes the form of a written deed though amongst Kadias, it takes the oral form, *i.e.*, the husband orally asks the woman to go away—(*chalija*). The Kumbhars in Patan also do not require a written divorce deed. The Anjana Chaudhari execute it mutually and the Kumbhars and Darjis have to do it in the presence of

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the *panchas*. The Rajputs execute it on the village boundaries. The Anjanas and Kadwas, and Darjis in the Kalol mahal, and the Sathwaras in Mehsana, and the Targalas require the woman to remove her bangles : amongst the Barias in Petlad, both the husband and wife tear off the ends of their garments in addition. The Khavas in Beyt have the practice for the husband to utter to his wife the words "*tu tare raste thai ja*" (you can now go your own way). Amongst the Gosains in Mehsana and Kumbhars in Khambha mahal, it is customary for the husband to tear off an end of his turban and give it to the woman in token of her release; the Kumbhars in addition have to utter to the woman, the words "*tu mari ma bahen chhe*" (you are my mother or sister) ; the Valand husband in Khambha also has to call her "*ma bahen*".

(*iii*) Over and above the written *fargati*, there is, in the Depressed Class castes, a practice for the woman to remove her bangles and return them to the husband or sometimes, as amongst Bhangis in Bhadran to break or throw them away. Amongst these classes in the Ratanpur mahal, the deed is always written on the boundary of the village. Amongst Dheds in the Damnagar mahal, it is usual to write in the divorce deed, the words "*bannene kain leva deva nathi*" (either of them has nothing to do with the other).

(*iv*) As in the other classes, amongst the Forest Tribes too, the release is given in writing. The Dhodias in Gandevi and the Nayakdas generally execute it mutually. Amongst the Gamits in Songadh taluka and the Vasawas in Mangrol, the *panch* is called together and offered wine to drink. But amongst the former it is the practice for the husband to give to the wife a new garment, of which an end is torn afterwards to signify the act of separation. The Dhodias in Mahuva remove the *mangalsutra* from the woman's neck and an end of her gown is torn. But the most curious practice prevails amongst the Bhils in Baroda district. In Baroda mahal, the Bhil husband and wife wishing to have a divorce are made to sit on the two banks of a *kotar* by the *panch* who then fix the amount of divorce and ask one of the parties to deal a blow to the tree nearby in token of separation. In Sinor, however, it is the practice to cut the very tree under which the *fargati* is written. Amongst Chodhras in Songadh the husband is required to give in writing an undertaking that he would not object to the woman taking another husband.

(*v*) Amongst the castes grouped under the Rest also, the *fargati* is generally given in writing. Amongst the Charans and Sagarias it is executed mutually. Amongst Vaghers, the written document is entrusted to a respectable third party to preserve. Amongst Dhobis, it is required to be witnessed by two or three persons on the husband's side. The Vaghris go to the *Simada* of the village and write it there. Amongst Ods, it is the practice to write the words "*a kanya tene Bapne marjiman ave te thekane valave: a kanya uper have maro koi pan prakarno hak rahyo nathi.*" (This girl can be sent to any place her father fancies ; I have now no kind of right upon her.) Amongst the Telis, the death ceremonies are performed as if the woman is dead. The Khavas in Beyt have the practice for the husband to utter to his wife the words, "*tu tare raste thai ja*" (you can now go your way) or "*tare ane mare ajthi fargati chhe*" (you and I are separated from today). Amongst Sadhus, after breaking her bangles, the woman has to bathe before she can marry again. Amongst the Hindu divorce practising castes in Dhari mahal, the deed of release is executed in a solitary place, outside the village, by the hands of one who is not of good repute in the village (*gam man saro na ganayo hoi eva manasna hathe*).

(*vi*) Amongst Muslims, it is customary amongst all castes thrice orally to utter the words signifying the act of separation in the presence of at least two *panchas* or other witnesses, though *fargati* is also passed in writing generally. The Memons in Harij and Musalmans generally in Bhadran say to the wife "*tu mari ma bahen chhe*", while in Sinor, the Memons declare before the *panchas* "*mhe hak oothavyo chhe*" (I waive my right over her). The Vohras in Sinor make such a declaration before the *Mulla* while those in Vijapur have to bathe and then utter words signifying *tallak* with *Kurane Sharif* in their hands. The Sindhis in Khambha ask the woman to go away (*chali ja*). Other castes follow the general usage of a document and an oral *tallak*.

21. The Price of Divorce—When a wife is divorced or sues for divorce, she, her relatives or her new spouse is required to give a certain amount in exchange for her release to her first husband in almost all castes, the only exception being the Khatri, Dabgar, Tapodhan, Tamboli, Luhana and Vyas Brahman castes in which nothing is given to the husband. The amount so given is called "*vel*" and the fixing of the amount depends on (*i*) the age of the woman, (*ii*) the expenditure incurred by the divorced husband in marriage, (*iii*) social circumstances of the parties, and (*iv*) the need for her on the part of her new spouse. This amount varies from Rs. 10 in the Nayakdas to Rs. 5,000 amongst the Lewa Patidars. This amount is fixed by the *panchas* in certain castes, *e.g.*, Navsari Kachhias, Luhanas, Dhobis, Vaghris, Talavias and Garodas. During the last ten years, 287 cases of divorce were registered in the Sub-Registrar's offices. In 100 out of these, no price was given to husband for divorce, but in the remaining cases, various

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amounts were given to the party concerned in exchange for divorce. The marginal table gives these cases by the amount of money given. It gives a very good idea of the price that is paid for it. Moreover it is usual in all castes to exact a certain amount (varying according to the conditions of the parties) as fine from either of the parties, the new spouse or the defaulting party. The amount varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 125. Amongst Kachhias and Otaras, the caste has got to be feasted.

Amount in Rupees	Total
No consideration	100
1—50 ..	4
50—100 ..	16
100—250 ..	53
250—500 ..	42
500—1,000 ..	43
1,000—2,000 ..	11
2000 and over ..	8
Part cash and part kind ..	10
Total ..	287

Besides this, the woman is required to return all ornaments that she might have received from the husband to be divorced and also any consideration received by her father in exchange for her. Amongst Bharwads in Harij, it is one of the conditions of divorce that woman cannot be given in marriage in the neighbouring villages or to the relatives of the divorced husband. Amongst Muslims, however when a woman is divorced, the husband has to give her some amount in the form of *meher*. This is to maintain her during the time (which is generally four months) she cannot marry again. The amount varies from a rupee and a quarter amongst Charans to Rs. 600 amongst Pinjaras. Amongst Ghanchis in Atarsumbha, the *panchas* sometimes prevail upon the woman to forgo the amount of *meher*. Amongst Fakirs, if the woman wants to have a divorce against the will of the husband she has to give an amount fixed by the *panchas* to her husband. Amongst Shaikhs, if she sues for divorce, nothing is given to her.

22. Divorce and Resort to Courts—It is only when the *panchas* fail to bring about a divorce, the parties resort to courts for separation. The marginal table gives the number of suits and appeals filed in the different courts with their results in all such suits during the decade (1921-30). But we have seen already that no less than 2,884 divorces were registered under the Act upto the end of February 1931, *i.e.*, 7½ years since the Marriage and Divorce Registration Act came into force. It would be interesting in this connection to know the grounds for which the parties had to go to the court. These grounds are given in the margin along with the number of cases. It may be noted that of the 224 cases, in no less than 220 the wife had to go to the court as a plaintiff while the husband figured as such in only 4 cases. This shows that it is only the weaker sex that is obliged to resort to court for separation.

Divorce suits or appeals	Total	Allowed	Rejected	Otherwise disposed of	Pending disposal
Original suits ..	224	81	129	1	13
First appeal	43	9	33	..	1
Second appeal ..	12	1	11	..	..

Grounds for suits	Number of cases
Ruthless beating	145
Incompatibility of temperament ..	17
Husband running away from home ..	15
Marrying another woman	12
Impotence	6
Husband's addiction to drinking liquor. .	5
Other	24

23. Divorce and Inheritance—It is the general practice that the children of the divorced mother remain with their legitimate father and inherit his property. Only where the husband waives his right over the children the latter go with the mother and inherit the step-father's property, *e.g.*, amongst Chunvalias in Kodinar. In Beyt amongst Bavas and in Rabaris in Kodinar if the sucking child accompanies the mother and does not return to his or her legitimate father, it inherits the step-father's property. Amongst Mochis in Khambha if the woman has no children by her second husband those of the first get benefit of inheriting the second husband's property.

24. Conclusion—The discussion can now be brought to a close with a final word of caution; the heterogeneous mass of information, an analysis of which is attempted in these pages, does not give any solid ground to build theories upon—nothing short of clear tabulable figures can give that. Yet the descriptive material may be of some use to study tendencies of different communities, their racial characteristics and the effect of literacy upon their social customs—as revealed by their divorce practices. It may be mentioned here at the risk of repetition that divorce customs will shed more light on the ways of thinking of the various communities if studied in conjunction with marriage customs. However such as the material was available, its treatment on the present lines was the only possible one. It is to be hoped that after an interval of years the operation of the new Act will give the student enough reliable statistics capable of more definite analysis.

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